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## CATHOLIC EDUCATION in the THIRD PLENARY COUNCIL of BALTIMORE. I.

By

FRANCIS P. CASSIDY\*

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, convened in November, 1884, surpassed all preceding councils in the United States in the number and importance of its regulations on the subject of education. Almost one-fourth of the decrees of the council dealt with clerical training in seminaries, and the instruction of youth in colleges, academies, parochial and mixed schools. The meeting of 1884 was obviously the beneficiary of the educational enactments passed in the two previous plenary councils. In the council of 1852, the bishops were exhorted to establish parochial schools whenever possible in their dioceses, since Catholic children were in grave danger in schools which were not directed by religious motives. Competent teachers were to be provided out of the church revenues if necessary.<sup>1</sup> Priests were urged to form catechism classes in their parishes, and they personally were to assume the duty of instructing the young in the doctrines of the faith.<sup>2</sup> The council also advocated the erection of a seminary in each diocese, and, where this was not financially practicable, a provincial seminary should be established for the training of the clergy of the diocese of a province.<sup>3</sup> The Second Plenary Council of 1866 re-enacted the educational legislation of 1852 concerning semi-

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<sup>1</sup> *Concilium plenum totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae, Baltimore habitum anno 1852* (Baltimore, 1853), decretum XIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum XII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum XIV.

naries and parochial schools. Each diocese was to have its own seminary but, where this was impracticable, each province should maintain one for its suffragan sees.<sup>4</sup> Preparatory seminaries were also advocated for boys of twelve years of age and over who were desirous of becoming priests, in which they might be properly trained and instructed.<sup>5</sup> The curriculum of the seminaries was adequately outlined and examinations were to be public.<sup>6</sup> In those dioceses having a large German Catholic population, it was advised that the aspirants to the priesthood be trained to speak in the German tongue.<sup>7</sup> Pastors were exhorted to build and properly equip parish schools,<sup>8</sup> and to hold catechism classes regularly for Catholic children attending the public schools, especially in preparation for first communion and confirmation;<sup>9</sup> and parents were impressed with the moral obligation of sending their children to parochial schools.<sup>10</sup> Industrial schools or reformatories were to be established by bishops wherever they were found necessary.<sup>11</sup> A special chapter was devoted to the consideration of a proposed Catholic university. The bishops paid tribute to the American Colleges of Rome and Louvain, and to All Hallows College in Ireland for the high standard of training they had given to so many priests of the United States.<sup>12</sup> Though they expressed their strong desire to see a national Catholic university established in this country and indicated the plan of studies to be followed in a higher institution of this kind, the bishops came to the conclusion that the time had not yet arrived for founding a central seat of Catholic learning and, therefore, decided to postpone the project.<sup>13</sup> The final sentence of the chapter shows that they had not abandoned the idea, but held out hope that it might be realized sometime in the future: "Whether or not the time for founding such a university has arrived,

<sup>4</sup> *Concilii plenarii Baltimorensis II acta et decreta* (Baltimore, 1868), decretum 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, decreta 175-176.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, decreta 176-178.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum 181.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum 430.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum 440.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum 434.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum 446.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, decreta 449-450.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, decretum 451.



we leave to the judgment of the Fathers, that they may examine the whole matter more maturely hereafter."

The intervening years between 1852 and 1884 had brought marked changes in the religious, social, and educational aspects of American life. A most significant change was the discrediting of the historic doctrine of supernaturalism by new developments in the biological and physical sciences. Not only the higher criticism of the Bible, the study of comparative religion, and the advanced knowledge of physics and geology had undermined the claims of supernaturalism, but the doctrine of organic evolution was an even more threatening force. With the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, the foundations of the spiritual life were menacingly attacked. Darwinism made life a mere variant of matter without any spiritual meaning.<sup>14</sup> Two years later, the work of Herbert Spencer, the agnostic, entitled *Education*, was published in New York, in which he declared that scientific knowledge was the only worthwhile knowledge.

Consequently in the field of religion doubt and skepticism spread rapidly. The conflict between science and religion threatened to take from the faithful all sense of security just when a rapidly shifting civilization was most in need of it. Because of the growth of manufacturing and transportation the population of the country was changing from a rural to an industrial and urban people with its consequent complex social problems. Protestantism as an evangelical force had lost much of its former power and influence. Its weakness was sectarianism. With the many different sects claiming the Bible as authority for their beliefs, it was only natural that some individuals became bewildered, while others adopted the religion of humanity based on the dignity of human nature. By 1880 there was scarcely a middle class American from coast to coast who did not know that the infidel, Bob Ingersoll, was the pulpit's enemy. Catholicism, however, due largely to immigration, was becoming a nation-wide religion. In spite of the vicious attacks of the Know-Nothing element in the 1850's and the continued anti-Catholic animus, the Catholic population in 1870 was over four and a half millions in a nation of forty millions. In view of this growing importance of the Church, one American historian is of the opinion that the efforts at this time of Orestes Brownson and Isaac Hecker, two converts to the Church, to harmonize

<sup>14</sup> Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), pp. 548. f.

Catholic doctrine and the American democratic faith were "matters of significance."<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile the foundations of a science of education were being laid. Elementary education had been placed on a new footing; the curriculum had been enriched, better methods of instruction and discipline had been introduced, and grading had transformed school organization. The free public high school was destined to be the secondary school of the future; moreover, its establishment was a forecast of universal secondary education. Though no accurate figures are available before 1890, the first year for which complete statistics regarding high schools were collected by the Bureau of Education, there were probably about 500 high schools in the United States by 1870, and about 800 by 1880;<sup>16</sup> while by 1890, the number had increased to 2,526. Higher education had achieved a new curriculum; the classical tradition had been broken, and emphasis was placed on the study of natural science, economics, and modern social problems. Engineering was given a standing as a scientific profession, and the older professions were placed on a scientific basis. Normal schools, pedagogical literature, and educational reformers had inaugurated a movement in favor of a body of professionally trained teachers. The educational philosophy of Horace Mann had championed the common school as the great spiritual means of social salvation in modern society, and had prepared the way for the rise of the state school with the almost complete elimination of the religious aim of education.

That the bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States were deeply conscious of these marked changes taking place around them is reflected in their conciliar deliberations, and particularly in those of 1884. In view of the trends of the age it was to be expected that the education of the clergy in particular, and of Catholic youth generally, would become a subject of major concern to the fathers of the Third Plenary Council. The time and effort involved on the part of the Roman and American authorities in the successful formulation and final approval of the educational decrees have been usually taken for granted. Nothing was recorded in the official *Acta et decreta* of the council of the preliminary meetings held in Rome in November-December, 1883, for the purpose of deciding, with the guidance of

<sup>15</sup> Ralph H Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Elwood P. Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston, 1934), p. 627.

the Holy See, the questions which should be discussed by the conciliar legislators. Nor was any mention made of the meetings of the metropolitans with their suffragans in this country, called with a view to receiving observations and suggestions on the *Capita proposita* agreed upon at Rome, and later submitted to the American bishops for further study. Little likewise is known, outside of hearsay, of the proceedings of the public and private congregations held during the sessions of the council. The documents pertinent to this historical background of the decrees themselves in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives reveal the inner history of the enactments of the Third Plenary Council, and acquaint the reader with the work entailed preliminary even to the drafting of the *Schema decretorum*. The duration of the council prolonged, as it was, from November 9 to December 7, with generally two sessions a day, resulted in the minutes of the meetings reaching extensive proportions. Evidently pared down to bare essentials by the secretaries, with all the succinctness afforded by the Latin tongue, they covered over 100 pages of print in the large quarto edition prepared for the benefit of the Roman examiners and consultors. Approximately one-seventh of the minutes were devoted to matters educational. A review of these varied sources of detailed historical information leads one to the conclusion that the first biographer of Gibbons was correct when writing of the prelate's part in the organization and guidance of the council, he concluded that it "was the greatest constructive project" in which Gibbons was ever engaged.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Allen Sinclair Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons* (New York, 1922), I, 234. The writer is indebted to John Tracy Ellis, professor of American church history in the Catholic University of America, for the loan of certain documents which he has collected in preparation for his forthcoming life of Cardinal Gibbons.

Archbishop Gibbons in the beginning was not favorable to a plenary council. This was true also of a number of other bishops in the East, including Cardinal McCloskey of New York. The Coadjutor of New York writing to the Archbishop of Boston in regard to the council stated: "Abp. Gibbons, who is here now, and Abp. Wood, who was consulted recently, both agree with the Cardinal and yourself, that the time for another National Council has not yet come." (Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, Letter file, 1852-1884. M. A. Corrigan to John J. Williams, New York, January 31, 1882). But the bishops in the West were, for the most part, anxious to have the council. They regarded it not only useful for the Church, but in many respects even necessary. Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee, upon learning that Gibbons would favor the council provided the majority of the bishops of the country desired it, wrote to the Archbishop of Baltimore that he had canvassed the opinions of the western bishops, and that

For a comprehensive treatment of the inner history of the conciliar educational enactments, it will be necessary to investigate the pertinent documents in the order in which they developed chronologically: the *Capita praecipua*, *Capita proposita*, *Relatio collationum*, *Relationes*, *Schema decretorum*, *Acta et decreta*, and the official *Acta et decreta*.<sup>18</sup> The *Capita praecipua*<sup>19</sup> was prepared by the cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda, and contained thirteen main topics for discussion and legislation. According to Guilday, the committee of American bishops appointed to go to Rome for the purpose of arrang-

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all said that "we ought to have a 'Concilium Plenarium.'" (Baltimore Cathedral Archives, hereafter indicated as BCA, 76-C-7. Michael Heiss to James Gibbons, Milwaukee, August 26, 1881).

Gibbons evidently was not a churchman who initiated national movements or projects, but he did have a faculty for adapting his opinion to the wish of the majority of the hierarchy of the country. Once he was made responsible for a national undertaking in behalf of the Church he gave it wholehearted support, and put forth every effort to see it through to a successful end. This was especially true of his role in regard to the Third Plenary Council. It is interesting to note that although he opposed the convening of the council at first, it was because of the success of this plenary meeting, which in no small part was due to his efforts, that he was rewarded by Rome, according to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, with the red hat. Cf. *Freeman's Journal*, February 6, 1886.

<sup>18</sup> The complete titles of these documents in the order in which they are enumerated above are: *Capita praecipua quae Emi Cardinales S.C. de Propaganda Fide censuerunt a Rmis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Foederatorum Statuum A. S. Romae congregatis praeparanda esse pro futuro Concilio*, hereafter referred to as *Capita praecipua*; *Capita proposita et examinata in collationibus, quas coram nonnullis Emis Cardinalibus Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide ad praeparandum futurum Concilium plenarium habuerunt Rmi Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Foederatorum Statuum Americae Septemtrionalis [sic] Romae congregati*, hereafter referred to as *Capita proposita*; *Relatio collationum quas Romae coram S. C. de P. F. Praefecto habuerunt Archiepiscopi pluresque Episcopi Statuum Foederatorum Americae, 1883*, hereafter referred to as *Relatio collationum* (Baltimore, 1884); *Relationes eorum quae disceptata fuerunt ab Illmis ac Revmis Metropolitibus cum suis suffraganeis in suis provinciis super schema futuri Concilii praesertim vero super capita cuique commissa*, hereafter referred to as *Relationes* (Baltimore, 1884); *Schema decretorum concilii plenarii Baltimorensis tertii*, hereafter referred to as *Schema decretorum* (Baltimore, 1884); *Acta et decreta concilii plenarii Baltimorensis tertii*, hereafter referred to as *Acta et decreta* (Baltimore, 1884); and *Concilii plenarii Baltimorensis III acta et decreta*, hereafter referred to as *Official Acta et decreta* (Baltimore, 1886).

<sup>19</sup> A photostat of this document was obtained through the courtesy of Monsignor Walter J. Leach, vice chancellor of the Archdiocese of Boston.

ing matters for the coming council, was not impressed to find upon arriving there that the agenda had already been decided upon; consequently he says they made known to the Roman authorities that it was their wish to have a new draft of church legislation drawn up in which they would have an active part.<sup>20</sup> The result of this joint action of the cardinals and the American prelates in their Roman meetings was the *Capita proposita*, which also contained thirteen chapters bearing the same titles, but more fully treated, so much so that the new draft was twelve pages in length, whereas the first one was only eight. The *Relatio collationum* was a detailed report of the conferences held in Rome during the months of November and December, 1883, between the cardinals and the American bishops. The *Relationes* were reports of the discussions of individual metropolitans with their suffragans to whom Archbishop Gibbons had assigned a particular chapter of the *Capita proposita* for detailed analysis and further suggestions. The *Schema decretorum* was prepared by a corps of theologians who were summoned to Baltimore at the request of Gibbons. They had at hand all reports concerning the proposed legislation and it was now left to them to put into canonical form the tentative decrees which would be taken up for discussion by the members of the council. The whole scheme of legislation was later divided up and distributed among twelve deputations of bishops and theologians to pass through a committee stage before receiving final action. The *Acta et decreta*, in the private edition, were a record of the proceedings of the private and public sessions of the council sessions in Baltimore, together with the final form of the decrees as passed by the bishops. Finally the official *Acta et decreta*, or the public edition, contained general information on the acts of the council and the full text of the decrees as approved by Rome. A brief digest of these key documents will help to familiarize the reader with the manner in which the educational legislation evolved.

I. The first chapter of the *Capita praecipua* dealt with clerical education and the tenth with parochial schools. The bishops were instructed to make a careful investigation of major seminaries with a view to determining whether or not the chairs established in the departments of theology and philosophy were sufficient, and what further ones might well be founded. The textbooks used should be

<sup>20</sup> Peter Guilday, "The Church in the United States (1870-1920). A Retrospect of Fifty Years," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (January, 1921), 540 f.



properly examined and approved. It was recommended that students who gave promise of superior academic achievement be sent to Rome or Louvain for study. There should be established in each diocese a minor seminary, commonly known as a *petit séminaire*. This instruction was all-inclusive, yet it was in accordance with the decrees of the Baltimore council of 1866 regarding preparatory seminaries, of which the bishops were reminded in the *Capita proposita*. All major seminaries were to have a villa for the summer vacation of students so that seminarians would not have to be sent home to spend vacation periods. The bishops were impressed by the Roman officials with the importance of carrying out all the decrees regarding seminaries which had been passed in the plenary councils of Baltimore.<sup>21</sup>

The chapter on parochial schools was equally as short as that on clerical education. Parochial schools were highly recommended, but caution was given that the regulation laid down in the instruction of the Congregation of the Propaganda of 1875, in which under certain conditions children might attend public schools, was to be observed. The faithful who sent their children to public schools, and the children who attended them, were not to be deprived of the sacraments unless there was present the proximate danger of loss of faith. In this matter of parochial schools it was further recommended that the instruction of the Propaganda of 1868 about schools and mixed groups be likewise observed.<sup>22</sup>

II. In the *Capita proposita* the first subject listed for discussion was clerical training, and the tenth, parochial schools. As regards clerical training it was urged that in major seminaries chairs of philosophy and theology should be established. Philosophy should be taught for two years and theology for four. Qualified professors should be selected, and the textbooks for each faculty should be designated. The course in philosophy should embrace rational philosophy or logic, metaphysics, and ethics with the principles of natural law; besides, the principles at least and elements of mathematics and of the physical sciences should be taught so that the students might be prepared to detect the errors which frequently were being propounded by representatives of those sciences.

<sup>21</sup> *Capita praecipua*, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7. The text of the instruction of 1875 may be found in the official *Acta et decreta*, pp. 279-282; that of 1868 in *Collectanea s. congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1907), II, 12-16.

The course in theology ought to include dogmatic and moral theology, biblical exegesis, church history, and the institutes of canon law. All these sacred sciences and philosophy were to be taught in Latin, and philosophical and theological disputations should likewise be carried on in Latin.

The institution of villas, in which seminarians might be kept during vacation, was regarded as highly desirable. Meanwhile suitable rules were to be determined by which students should conduct themselves when they were at home. Seminarians were to be subject to the direction and vigilance of the pastor of the place in which they resided, who at the end of the vacation period must conscientiously inform the bishop on such matters as the manner in which the student lived outside the seminary, his frequenting the sacraments, and the clerical dress observed by him. This testimony was to be given by the pastor of the student, and if he needed information from other pastors in order to make an accurate report to the bishop he should require such from them.

As regards major seminaries, the attention of the fathers was called to the decrees of the Second Plenary Council urging at least the establishment of a provincial seminary to be cared for by all the bishops of the province. An agreement might be made by which the right of ownership of the seminary was protected for that diocese in which it had been erected with its services common to the whole province. In this case the bishops must not only pay the expenses of their own students, but they must also help to meet the other expenses necessary for maintaining a seminary of this kind; in this way they would acquire by mutual arrangement the right of providing for its direction and administration. It was recommended that to the European seminaries—the American Colleges at Rome, Louvain, and Innsbruck—bishops should be encouraged to send students who gave evidence of having superior ability. Concerning preparatory seminaries, it was urged that the decrees of the Second Plenary Council relating to them should be observed. As to private seminaries instituted by secular priests, there should be a decree by which the officers and faculty were to be subjected to the ordinary of the place where they existed, who not only could but must exercise the right of inspection and vigilance over them. As to seminaries and colleges of religious orders, special conditions should be laid down for them. It was further urged that decrees be enacted in the council by which the officers of seminaries were agreed upon, some of whom must have the



care of spiritual matters, others of temporal. Above everything else the solicitude of bishops for their seminaries should prompt the choice of good spiritual directors.<sup>23</sup>

Chapter X, which dealt with parochial schools, advocated the founding of more parish schools. Bishops were to proceed with penalties because of the gravity of the matter against pastors who failed culpably to provide Catholic education. That part of the instruction of the Congregation of the Propaganda of 1875 was to be particularly observed in which it was declared that under certain conditions children sometimes without sin might be sent to public schools. Therefore, the faithful must not be deprived of the sacraments who sent their children to public schools unless there was present the proximate danger of loss of faith; and much more so, the sacraments must not be denied to the children themselves. Moreover, the instruction of the Propaganda of 1868 about schools and mixed groups, as well as the instruction of 1875 about public schools, should be observed.<sup>24</sup>

III. The first conference of the American prelates in Rome on the agenda for the council was held on November 13, 1883, in the presence of Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, and Cardinals Giovanni Franzelin and Luigi Jacobini. Simeoni made a few introductory remarks in which he said that Pope Leo XIII was deeply interested in the Church of the United States, and that it was his desire that the coming council settle matters which were necessary and opportune for the government and progress of the American Church. He further stated that the pontiff had favored these preparatory conferences so that the opinions of the archbishops and bishops called to Rome might be given beforehand on the varied topics which were to be discussed in the council. He assured the prelates that they were to enjoy perfect freedom in making observations on each of the items proposed for legislation and to suggest whatever other subjects for consideration which they felt would promote the good of the Church.<sup>25</sup>

The first chapter was then introduced, and a discussion followed concerning villas for seminarians. Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore was of the opinion that nothing concerning villas should be decided in the council, but that the matter should be left to the judgment of

<sup>23</sup> *Capita proposita*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Relatio collationum*, pp. 3 f.

the bishops because by leaving seminarians greater liberty during vacations their vocations would be better tested. If a seminarian were to lose his vocation, he contended, it was better that this happen before his promotion to sacred orders than after. Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan, Coadjutor of St. Louis, maintained that the traditions of the American people and the poverty of some dioceses did not make feasible the institution of villas. The cardinals were not satisfied with these observations, and urged that villas be established because it was necessary to prevent the danger to seminarians of losing their vocation. Such, they thought, could easily happen when they were inexperienced and not well protected, and the same was not true when they had received a complete education. They further alleged that the poverty of dioceses was not a sufficient reason for not establishing villas because these institutions were for major seminaries, at least for the present. The conclusion reached in this matter was that in the council the institution of villas was to be highly recommended, and as far as possible encouraged. Meanwhile suitable rules should be drawn up for governing the clerical conduct and dress of students during the time in which they remained at home.

Because it seemed too great a burden to impose upon each bishop the erection of his own seminary, it was decided that the decrees of the Second Plenary Council be followed according to which there should be at least a provincial seminary under the control of the archbishop, to which the suffragan bishops might send their candidates for the priesthood. The same was practically the general opinion of the prelates in regard to minor seminaries; and as long as a bishop did not have a preparatory seminary he should send his young clerics to a minor seminary common to the whole province. Concerning the curriculum, length of courses of study, designation of textbooks, and selection of qualified professors in relation to major seminaries, the archbishops and bishops were agreed. They were also agreed that seminarians should be provided with the best spiritual directors and superiors who were to look after their training. The officials of the seminary were to be decided upon in accordance with the Tridentine law, some of whom should have care of spiritual matters, others of temporal. It was not deemed wise to determine the number of officials, but it was suggested that at least one have care of temporal matters.<sup>26</sup>

There were some points regarding seminaries, however, that needed

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4 f.

further elucidation, and in the conference of November 15, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan, Coadjutor of New York, raised the question whether a seminarian who was permitted to spend his vacation with his people, upon returning to the seminary was obliged to bring back a letter testifying to his good conduct during the vacation period from his own pastor only, or would he be required to have similar statements from the pastor of other parishes in which he had resided for a time. He further inquired if bishops who did not have their own seminaries were obliged to send seminarians to the seminary of their own province, or might they send them to other seminaries, where, for example, the cost of maintaining the seminarian was less. To the first inquiry the cardinals answered by saying that a letter testifying to the good character of the seminarian during the vacation period should come from the pastor of the student, but if his pastor needed to get certain information from other pastors he should ask it of them so that there might be an accurate report for the bishop concerning the conduct of his subject. As to the second question, they were of the opinion that a bishop *de jure* could send his seminarians to any other suitable seminary. They felt that in the council the important point to be stressed in this whole matter was that the very best seminary be established in each province to which the suffragan bishops would be naturally inclined to send their clerics for training.

Bishop William O'Hara of Scranton claimed that suffragan bishops experienced this difficulty in sending their seminarians to the archdiocesan seminary, viz., that the archbishop denied them any say in the choice of directors and professors, or any voice in the formulation of disciplinary regulations or in the general administration of the provincial seminary. On this observation the cardinals agreed with the bishop that it raised a grave and difficult question. However, on principle, it would have to be decided that, if the archdiocesan seminary was archdiocesan property, suffragan bishops had no right in the matters outlined by the Bishop of Scranton, even if they sent their clerics to the provincial seminary. In order that the bishops of the province might have a right in such matters they must concur in the founding and maintenance of the seminary which was not proved by the fact alone that they sent their clerical students to it and paid the expenses of them. In summing up their views in this discussion, the cardinals suggested that if suffragan bishops wished to have a voice in the direction and administration of a provincial seminary they

should all take part in establishing the seminary, and that, because it was provincial in this sense, it remained under the jurisdiction and direction of all the suffragans. It was also possible for suffragan bishops to enter into an agreement with the archbishop already having a seminary by which, the archdiocesan property rights being recognized, they agreed to make the use of the seminary common to the whole province. In such a case it would be understood that the suffragan bishops must not only pay the expenses of their own clerics but also must share in the general expenses of maintaining the seminary; and in this way the suffragans could acquire the right of having a voice in the direction of the archdiocesan seminary.

Archbishop Charles J. Seghers of Oregon City was interested in the regulation of the Council of Trent concerning minor seminaries which laid down that for admission to a minor seminary a student had to be an aspirant to the clerical state, i.e., he must wear clerical dress and have clerical tonsure; a poor student was to be given preference to a wealthy one. Seghers asked if bishops might prescind from such conditions and admit students without these conditions being honored. The cardinals replied that they thought all this could be left to the prudence and conscience of the bishop who for reasonable cause could not follow the conditions prescribed.<sup>27</sup>

On November 29, Chapter X dealing with parochial schools was introduced. Archbishop Gibbons declared that there would be no difficulty concerning the establishment of Catholic schools if the proposals suggested in regard to founding them were carefully followed, and the instruction of the Congregation of the Propaganda of 1875 was observed. He wished to make known that the regulation of the same congregation in 1868, which forbade in mixed schools non-Catholic students to be visited by their parents or guardians without the superiors being present, was odious to Americans. The cardinals replied that the regulation need not be rigorously observed when it was a question of parents or guardians, but that it should always be observed when it was a matter of other visitors. Yet some further points were raised which needed to be made clear. Thus, Seghers made it known that in the United States schools were largely controlled by a committee of citizens, and he asked whether it was expedient that priests become members of school boards. The cardinals answered that if the schools were Catholic there was no difficulty;

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

in fact, it was a good thing if priests held membership on the school board. If the schools were not good schools, it must be considered whether the presence of a priest would be conducive to either preventing the evil or at least diminishing it. In the first case not only was the presence of the priest expedient, but desirable; in the second case it should be left to the judgment of the bishop to permit or prohibit such membership. Seghers then brought to the attention of the cardinals that he and other bishops were of the opinion that a decree should be passed by the council in which under some kind of penalty priests should be bound to erect parochial schools within a stated brief time to be fixed by the Holy See. The cardinals did not favor such a decree on account of the many difficulties in which a number of priests would be involved; they merely advised that bishops urge the establishment of schools, and rebuke priests who were culpably neglecting to provide them. Archbishop Michael Heiss of Milwaukee observed that when there was doubt whether or not a particular school constituted a proximate danger to loss of faith, he was of the opinion that the matter should be referred to the bishop, but he wished to know whether in all particular cases such recourse must be had, or might confessors judge of such danger. The cardinals concluded that confessors might decide whether there was proximate danger for one or another person, but, if it was a matter of the nature and character of the school itself, the matter must be left to the decision of the bishop. When the same archbishop inquired whether bishops could prohibit attendance at public schools lest parochial schools suffer because of Catholic children attending the former, the cardinals maintained that if it were for this reason only the bishops could not prohibit attendance at public schools under penalty.<sup>28</sup>

IV. After the American prelates returned to the United States early in 1884 the archbishops were each assigned a particular chapter of the *Capita proposita* with instructions to take it up for discussion with the suffragans of their province, and to make a report on these deliberations to the Archbishop of Baltimore. They were advised to make observations on any other chapter that they so wished, or on all thirteen if they so desired.

Chapter I on seminaries was committed to Archbishop Gibbons and Chapter X on parochial schools to Archbishop Patrick A. Feehan of Chicago. Heiss of Milwaukee, although assigned Chapter VII,

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25 f.



reported on several other chapters also, and that at some length, particularly on Chapter I. The Provinces of Baltimore and Milwaukee were agreed that the language of the decrees on seminaries should be so plain and exact that there would be no doubt that all seminaries were included, provincial, major, or otherwise in which a full course of philosophy and theology was given. The Milwaukee bishops felt that the founding of chairs of philosophy and theology in seminaries was very desirable, but they regarded it as a difficult project to undertake. They also urged that all seminaries, even private ones and those of religious, establish a uniform course of six years—two of philosophy and four of theology. Otherwise seminaries with a shorter course might do injury to studious youth by enticing them to finish in less time. Moreover, if the uniformity of the seminary course of study did not obtain, it would be impossible to raise the standards of instruction in philosophy and theology to the degree of excellence which was especially necessary at the time. The Baltimore bishops advised that chairs of liturgy and sacred eloquence be established where they were lacking, and that the decree of the Second Plenary Council concerning the promotion of the study of the Hebrew language be followed in as far as it could be done. Milwaukee was also in favor of a course of liturgy, and likewise a course in plain chant. Gibbons further recommended that in the coming meeting the decree of the council of 1866 be repeated concerning the establishment of a minor seminary at least in each province; and that legislation be passed that in it the physical sciences be cultivated, and that German, French, and, where there was need, also the Slavic languages be studied, as well as mathematics, sacred music, and bookkeeping. The bishops of the Province of Baltimore were thoroughly in agreement with the idea that nothing be omitted in the regulations on seminaries which might foster an ecclesiastical spirit among the students; and they advocated that what was to be clerical dress should be definitely determined. The decree of 1866 concerning travel on the part of seminarians should be stressed, and the establishment of villas recommended for seminarians who did not have the permission of their bishops to remain at home during vacation periods.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the bishops of the Province of Milwaukee clearly opposed the institution of villas. They argued that such an innovation would be not only difficult because of

<sup>29</sup> *Relationes*, pp. 3 f; 20 f.

the expense, but also injurious to religion. In defense of the second reason they maintained that many parents would discourage a vocation in their sons rather than have them separated from them for six years. They were very sceptical about the advisability of sheltering young men from the world in this way, and then suddenly after ordination sending them into the midst of danger. They believed that solidity of character was better acquired, especially amid American free social institutions, by a moderate and well-regulated experience with the world than by complete separation from it. They were unanimously agreed that the vacations of students should be spent with their families, and in support of this opinion they urged that the obligation of the pastor in respect to vigilance of the conduct of seminarians on vacation be faithfully observed.<sup>30</sup>

It was also reported from Milwaukee that a lively discussion took place among the bishops of that province on the possibility and utility of a "Catholic University" for philosophical and theological studies. Bishop Thomas L. Grace of St. Paul declared that at least one famous center of theology in the United States was not only necessary for properly forming clerical students, but that the time had come for actually undertaking the foundation of such a higher school of learning. He felt certain that many laymen would be quite willing to aid financially a Catholic university by founding chairs. He maintained that if schools and seminaries had up to this time aroused little sympathy on the part of the laity, the explanation could be found in the fact that they did not prove themselves worthy of the laity's generosity. If these same schools were raised to a higher level of excellence, Catholic men would do for them financially what non-Catholics had done for Harvard, Yale, and other schools. He argued further that it would be much better for preparing an American priest to have schools like the colleges at Rome, Louvain, and Innsbruck, here in the United States to which students might be sent than to send them to foreign countries.

Heiss disagreed with Grace on this whole matter of a theological center. He contended that it was not the wish of the Holy See that in this country there should be only one central school, but that all seminaries which then existed or were founded in the future, be raised to a higher standard, and this, he maintained, was also the opinion of the bishops in the eastern dioceses of the United States. But the Bishop of St. Paul still insisted that as soon as it could be done a

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.



"Seminarium Principalissimum" should be founded in this country to which students of exceptional ability, or even priests, after the ordinary curriculum of studies had been completed, could be sent for acquiring further knowledge from eminent professors, and from authors of distinguished theological and scientific works. All of this seemed highly desirable to the other bishops of the province, but they were skeptical of it because of the scarcity of both money and professors. At the end of the discussion the Milwaukee bishops agreed to propose to the Third Plenary Council that a commission of bishops be appointed for the purpose of instituting the means necessary for founding as soon as it could be done one "Seminarium Principalissimum" in the United States for higher philosophical and theological studies.<sup>31</sup>

The bishops of the Province of Chicago entrusted with recommendations to the approaching council on Chapter X dealing with parochial schools reported that they fully accepted all that was outlined in the chapter, and also the instructions of the Congregation of the Propaganda of 1868 and of 1875. They earnestly urged the erection of parish schools, wherever possible, and they stressed the importance of elevating them to a standard equal at least to that of the public school. They suggested that there should be some uniformity of textbooks in each diocese; and the attention of the American bishops was called particularly to the need of a catechism to be used everywhere. The possibility of establishing a school of higher learning for priests who had completed the elementary studies of the seminaries had been discussed at length by the Chicago bishops with the result that the project was favorably received.<sup>32</sup>

V. and VI. The fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore met for the first time in session on Friday, November 7, in the *aula maxima* of St. Mary's Seminary on Paca Street. They were greeted by Archbishop Gibbons who had been appointed the previous January as apostolic delegate of the assembly by Pope Leo XIII.<sup>33</sup> The

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25 f.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> Cardinal McCloskey would obviously have been appointed apostolic delegate, but due to ill health he was unable to accept the post. He was then seventy-four years old, having celebrated the golden jubilee of his priesthood on January 12, 1884. It was generally realized that participation in any further public ceremony would be too great a tax on his physical powers.

During the month of January, 1884, the Catholic papers of Baltimore and

archbishop welcomed the delegates, and reviewed what had been accomplished in Rome and in Baltimore for the dispatch of the

New York carried on a controversy concerning the choice of an apostolic delegate. The *Freeman's Journal* had claimed in its issue of January 5 that it was very fitting that a stranger should preside, who undoubtedly would be Luigi Sepiacci, O.S.A., Titular Bishop of Callinicum. Monsignor Sepiacci had been provincial of the Augustinians in the United States and was present as a consultant at the meetings of the American bishops in Rome. The Baltimore *Catholic Mirror* regarded the appointment of Sepiacci as "foreign interference." The New York editor retaliated by censuring the *Catholic Mirror* for this forward statement, and took occasion also to discredit the *Mirror* for advocating that logically Baltimore as the oldest see should have the honor of the appointment of Archbishop Gibbons as apostolic delegate. In its issue of January 19, *Freeman's Journal* chronicled the announcement of Gibbons' appointment, apologized for its error of journalistic good taste in publicizing the expected appointment of Sepiacci, and admitted that it was better to have as delegate one who knew the country well.

Many secular newspapers took notice of the opening of the council. The Baltimore *Sun* and the New York *Daily Tribune* in their issues of November 10 avoided any comment on the significance of the gathering itself, and treated the first solemn session which took place the day before by discussing the architecture of the Baltimore cathedral. The Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *World* of the same date devoted considerable space to the description of the procession from the archbishop's house to the cathedral. The *Tribune* listed eleven archbishops, fifty-seven bishops, and six abbots in the order in which they marched in the procession; it also observed that 30,000 persons had begun to assemble early in the morning to witness the procession. The *World* gave a detailed description of the prelates as they walked along, likening an occasional one with patriarchal beard to a venerable ecclesiastic who "had stepped out of a stained-glass window." The New York *Times* of November 9, did not have a very high estimate of the ability of Gibbons in relation to the other distinguished churchmen who surrounded him. It regarded his winning manner as his outstanding asset; and asserted that he was in the midst of "peers—in fact some of them greater in the councils of the church and greater in public opinion."

The newspapers in general regarded Bishop John Ireland as a prelate whose opinions were highly respected, while Bishop John Lancaster Spalding was credited as being the ablest of the younger bishops. Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick, the oldest member of the hierarchy in attendance at the council, was praised for his learning and experience. Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan was conceded to be the most gifted pulpit orator in the American Church. The ability of Bishop Richard Gilmour as a writer and speaker was regarded as exceptional. Archbishop Patrick A. Feehan evidently had a striking personal appearance, and was quite at ease in the pulpit with his short and attractive sermons. On the subject of the press and the council Sister M. Augustine Kwitchen, "Newspaper Comment on the III Plenary Council of Baltimore," *The Jurist* VIII (January, 1948), 3-12.

business before the council.<sup>34</sup> All were supplied with a copy of the *Schema decretorum*,<sup>35</sup> and parliamentary rules were drawn up among which were the following: a majority of those entitled to a decisive vote should constitute a quorum, and all questions were to be decided by a majority vote, except when these rules forbade it; and no proposition once negatived by the council could be renewed unless a majority of those voting should so decide.<sup>36</sup>

The *Schema* contained eleven titles; the fifth treated of clerical education and the sixth of the education of Catholic youth. Title V was divided into five chapters as follows: On Minor Seminaries; On Major Seminaries; On a Principal Seminary; On the Examination of the Junior Clergy; On Theological Conferences.

*Minor Seminaries:* In the first part of Chapter I, the importance of the minor seminary was emphasized for the purpose of providing for the early training of aspirants to the priesthood. The Council of Trent had legislated in this regard, and the popes repeatedly had asked for the solicitude of the bishops in this matter. In order that preparatory seminaries might be raised to a higher standard and serve a greater usefulness to the Church, the fathers of the council were asked to legislate further regarding the management and direction of these institutions, as well as the plan of studies followed, and the religious training given in them. Bishops, consequently, were entreated to use every care that the very best directors and teachers were provided for minor seminaries who had been recommended for zeal, prudence, and knowledge. These men had a grave responsibility in molding the characters of young clerics for useful service to the Church and to the State.

In all minor seminaries, it was suggested that the course of studies should embrace not less than six years. Christian doctrine, according

<sup>34</sup> A handwritten account of his greetings to the bishops bearing the date November 7, 1884, is extant in BCA, 78-T-3.

<sup>35</sup> A copy of the *Schema* was mailed to the prelates invited to the council on October 14. In this way ample time was afforded them to examine it before the council met. Cf. Copybook of James Gibbons, p. 123. Gibbons to Richard Gilmour, October 14, 1884. Three days later Corrigan of New York wrote to Gibbons congratulating him on the *Schema*. He stated: "The Decrees bear throughout marks of great zeal, good judgment and enlightened wisdom. Many of the chapters are remarkably clear. The distribution of matter strikes me as remarkably good, logical and judicious." BCA, 78-R-11, M.A. Corrigan to James Gibbons, New York, October 17, 1884.

<sup>36</sup> *Acta et decreta*, pp. xi f.

to the *Schema*, was to obtain first place, and as the students progressed in age and studies they would be expected to acquire a deeper knowledge concerning the fundamentals of faith and be fortified against contrary errors. After Christian doctrine special emphasis should be given to the study of languages. Students should learn well, first of all, the English language, so that they might be able to use it orally or in writing correctly, fluently, and eloquently. To this end they should be practised in writing, reading, and reciting publicly. At least one of the modern foreign languages should be studied—either German, French, Polish, Italian, Spanish, or a Slavic language, as the bishop shall have advised in the light of the needs of his diocese. Special attention should be given to the study of Latin so that students would be able to write it and even speak it correctly. In view of this they should translate both orally and in writing not only from the Latin into the vernacular, but from the vernacular into Latin. In this way they would develop skill in applying the rules of grammar and have a proper feeling for the Latin idiom. It was advisable that short passages or a few verses be memorized daily from the ecclesiastical or profane writers, which would prove an aid to the student in writing and speaking Latin with facility. No better volume than the Roman Catechism could be selected for training advanced students in Latin—a book written according to the decrees of the Council of Trent. By reading it and translating it into the vernacular, a twofold advantage was afforded the student in as much as he progressed in a knowledge of Christian doctrine and advanced in the use and appreciation of the Latin language. Serious study should likewise be given to Greek for the purpose of at least reading the New Testament in Greek. A knowledge of Greek was also useful for reading the famous monuments of the ancient Church. In the teaching of any language special care should be taken that students be trained to read and recite words clearly, distinctly, and with due regard for proper accentuation and right quantity of syllables. Correct pronunciation and clear enunciation were valuable assets to preaching. The truths of the Gospel might easily be corrupted by inaccuracies of speech.

Besides the languages, the *Schema* proposed that the plan of studies should include history, both sacred and profane, and especially United States history, the study of which should develop in the students a love for their country and an appreciation of their responsibilities as citizens. In connection with history, geography, rightly called “the light of history,” should be taught. Mathematics including arithmetic,

algebra, and geometry, was a valuable subject for sharpening the powers of reasoning and was quite serviceable to the study of the natural sciences. Sufficient training should be given in the knowledge of physics, chemistry, natural history, geology, and astronomy, all of which were currently so much emphasized. Modern writers very often drew information from these writers in the formulation of errors which undermined the faith, and it was expedient that clerical students know the rudiments of these sciences so that they might inquire further for discrediting these false scientific pronouncements. Rhetoric likewise should be taught theoretically and practically. Through this study students should be trained to speak and to write clearly and simply. It was desirable that the style of speaking and writing be sublime and full of dignity, never bombastic and high sounding. Gregorian chant which served such a practical purpose in church services should help to complete the program of studies, as well as liturgy which explained the ceremonies observed in the sanctuary. A practical subject was bookkeeping, which should give the future priest a knowledge of accounts by which he would be enabled to keep the parish ledger in proper order.<sup>37</sup>

Since the proposed studies were so many and different, the *Schema* advocated that a fixed schedule be determined by which the classes would be properly distributed. Under the supervision of the seminary director, and with the approval of the bishop, a syllabus was to be drawn up in which the subject matter in each class was to be clearly stated. Examinations were to be held at the end of the year before the bishop or before a committee delegated for this purpose; and no student who had not passed satisfactorily was to be admitted to a higher course. So serious were these regulations regarded concerning the plan of studies and the system of religious training to be followed in the minor seminary, that the *Schema* provided that in all seminaries for boys as well as in colleges which received clerical youths to be educated, whether private, or ruled by seculars or religious, the decrees proposed as to the government of minor seminaries were to be observed by all. No student might be admitted into a major seminary who had not followed the course of study as outlined above, and who had not completed fully the same and learned the disciplines satisfactorily. Clerical students, who before they entered a major seminary had been educated

<sup>37</sup> *Schema decretorum*, pp. 40 f.



in colleges, were not to be regarded as having this kind of training given in the preparatory seminary and prescribed by the Council of Trent. However, since in particular regions on account of attenuating circumstances purely ecclesiastical seminaries could not be provided, it was permitted to retain this mixed kind of education. Meanwhile the bishops concerned were to see to it that these *collegia mixta* were accommodated as fully as possible to clerical education.<sup>38</sup>

The records of the *Acta et decreta* disclose that a very frank discussion took place among the fathers of the council, particularly regarding the course of studies to be followed in the minor seminary. The apostolic delegate, James Gibbons, assured the assembly that what was passed in the council regarding the proposed plan of studies would have to be adopted by all seminaries; in fact, whatever the bishops decreed would be legislation for the American Church in general. Certain bishops did not approve the course of studies entirely, especially John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria and Bernard J. McQuaid of Rochester who were of the opinion that too much emphasis was placed on the study of Latin. They observed that the seminary should urge the study of one's own language so that the future priest might be able to speak and write well in the vernacular. Bishop Joseph Dwenger of Fort Wayne disagreed with this suggestion because he maintained that if priests had not been well trained in the study of Latin they would neglect the reading of books of theology after they were on the mission. Such neglect could not be compensated for by extensive reading in modern literature. Bishop William H. Gross of Savannah concurred in this statement and declared that if Latin literature was not emphasized in the seminary then the whole scheme of studies for the seminarian was weak. McQuaid agreed with all these remarks, but he still held that as he viewed the proposed course of studies the value of Latin was overemphasized. Ryan of Philadelphia defended the place of Latin in the *Schema* because he contended that in his experience he had met many priests who could read and understand books written in Latin, but who with only great difficulty could speak or write in Latin. He felt that the *Schema* provided very well for this necessary training. Bishop John J. Keane of Richmond suggested that all might be agreed if in the particular article under discussion it were to read that the English language was to be studied before all others, and that, in regard to Latin, semi-

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41 f.

narians be urged to use great diligence in mastering this discipline so that they might be able to write it and even speak it clearly. The result of the discussion was that the proposals of Spalding, McQuaid, and Keane were lost when put to a vote, so that the wording of the *Schema* remained substantially the same when it went into the decree.<sup>39</sup>

Trigonometry had not been included in the group of mathematical subjects, but the fathers of the council decided that this branch of mathematics should also be taught. Bishop Thomas F. Hendricks of Providence advised that a course in drawing be offered in the program of studies because of its practical relation to architecture. He argued that every priest should have an appreciation of the elements of architecture and that drawing was basic to this knowledge. When his proposal was voted on it won by the narrow margin of three votes. Bishop John J. Kain of Wheeling was not convinced that drawing should be made a required subject, and he attempted in a session of the council the following day to have the question reopened for discussion; but in the absence of the Bishop of Providence who was unable to attend on account of illness, the previous vote was allowed to stand.<sup>40</sup> Dwenger decided to pursue this same matter further, and in a later session he requested permission to move that the decision of the council previously made in favor of the art of drawing and the elements of architecture as part of the instruction in minor seminaries be reversed, and that this instruction be not required. When the fathers agreed to this proposal, Bishop John A. Watterson of Columbus proposed that trigonometry likewise be dropped from the program, but this suggestion was not approved by the assembly.<sup>41</sup> The importance of music in church services prompted Richard Gilmour, Bishop of Cleveland, to propose that all seminarians be obliged to study music. John Ireland of St. Paul opposed such a measure, maintaining that neither by exhortation nor by command should boys be induced to study music. It was ultimately decided by a vote of thirty-six to thirty-five that the regulation proposed in the *Schema* recommending practice in plain chant and the cultivation of the art of music generally be retained.<sup>42</sup>

The tentative decree which forbade admitting a student into a

<sup>39</sup> *Acta et decreta*, p. lvi.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lvi f.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lx.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lvi.



major seminary unless he had followed the course of studies approved for the minor seminary, and had passed all subjects successfully in at least a period of six years, gave rise to prolonged comments. Archbishop Corrigan proposed that the decree read "unless he has been approved by means of an examination by examiners approved for this purpose." Ireland thought this a reasonable suggestion, but he advanced a further idea to that of Corrigan by adding to his proposal that the examination be based on the program of studies outlined for minor seminaries, at least as to the studies of major interest. Otherwise, he maintained, the laws of the *Schema* so well and wisely put together might be evaded. Spalding was opposed to both emendations. He claimed that first of all no program of studies properly so-called was contained in the *Schema*; and secondly, such a regulation would be aimed at seminaries and colleges of religious from which few students had come for admission into major seminaries. Ireland remarked on the second part of Spalding's statement that a law was made with reference to the future. He further contended that if the decree laid down in the *Schema* was to be carefully observed, then candidates educated by religious should understand that they must come well prepared to take an examination before being admitted into a major seminary. Such legislation would also serve as an incentive to colleges and seminaries to better educate their students in the future. When the vote was taken the emendation suggested by Ireland was lost, but that proposed by Corrigan was approved. Bishop Martin Marty, Vicar Apostolic of the Dakota Territory, felt that the examiners should be designated by the bishop. McQuaid was anxious that legislation be passed binding the examiners to perform their duty in a fitting manner; and Corrigan finally settled the matter by designating the examiners as synodal examiners.<sup>43</sup> Apropos of the question of examinations and the course of studies, Bishop James O'Connor, Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, remarked that a permanent committee of bishops should be appointed by Archbishop Gibbons, whose duty it would be after the council had closed to discuss a program of studies and a plan of examinations with the directors of the colleges at Rome, Louvain, and Innsbruck for the purpose of effecting uniformity in this whole matter of studies and examinations.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lvii f.

<sup>44</sup> Archbishop Gibbons appointed the following prelates as members of this

Spalding was in agreement with this proposal, but amended it by suggesting that some priests, at least one, be a member of this committee. The fathers of the council accepted this recommendation and then approved the chapter on minor seminaries as a whole.<sup>45</sup>

*Major Seminaries:* Chapter II which dealt with major seminaries was much longer than that on minor seminaries, due to their greater importance. In the minor seminary were laid the foundations of clerical training on which, in the major seminary, the further educational development of the cleric was formed and, as it were, perfected. The Council of Trent had prescribed that each diocese should have a major seminary; but on account of the small number of priests and the lack of money in many dioceses in the United States, it was not possible to follow the Tridentine law. In order that the major seminary might successfully carry out its plan of education by which clerics were taught "solid and useful knowledge, and formed to piety and an ecclesiastical spirit," the *Schema* demanded that the seminary have a constitution which marked out the duties and obligations of the students as well as the services and responsibilities of the directors and teachers. It was the duty of the bishop to visit his seminary frequently so that he might inquire concerning the diligence of the teachers and the academic and spiritual progress of the students. The rector should be outstanding for his priestly virtues, and he should put forth every effort to see that all seminary officials and teachers discharged their obligations conscientiously. The spiritual director should be well qualified for directing the consciences and developing the characters of the students who afterwards were themselves to be the spiritual directors of the faithful. The duty of teaching was not to be entrusted to those who espoused it merely because of a temporary interest, but only to those who were eager to teach and willing to sacrifice themselves for this important office.<sup>46</sup> Great diligence, the *Schema* advised, should be exercised by the seminary officials in estimating the vocation and character of a clerical student. His piety, naturally, was of paramount importance since experience had taught that men of mediocre ability, who had an apostolic

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committee: Michael Heiss of Milwaukee, Stephen V. Ryan of Buffalo, James O'Connor, Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, Winand M. Wigger of Newark, and John Moore of St. Augustine. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lviii.

<sup>46</sup> *Schema decretorum*, pp. 43 f.

zeal for souls, brought forth better results than those who excelled in learning, but were not particularly interested in the spiritual welfare of the faithful. To show how important it was for seminarians to progress daily in piety, the *Schema* referred to the decree of the Council of Trent in this regard, which had advised that no one be admitted to the priesthood who was not of good moral character, so that it might be predicted of him that he would be "a shining example of good works" before his people. For this reason the candidate must ascend step by step through minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate, and finally the priesthood, giving evidence at each stage of advancement that he had increased in piety and knowledge.<sup>47</sup>

The *Schema* outlined the course of studies in considerable detail. It ruled that in all major seminaries, provincial, diocesan, private, whether directed by diocesan priests or religious, the program of studies should embrace not less than six years, two of which should be given to philosophy and four to theology. The course of philosophy was to embrace logic, metaphysics, and ethics with the principles of natural law, all of which disciplines constituted what was then called rational philosophy. The principles and elements of the physical sciences were to be further cultivated beyond what was learned in the minor seminaries so as to prepare students to detect and to refute errors which were introduced by irreligious authors into advanced textbooks on these subjects. The course of theology was to embrace speculative and positive dogma, moral, biblical exegesis, church history, canon law, ascetical theology, as well as instruction in theoretical and practical liturgy, and sacred eloquence. Of these disciplines, at least philosophy, dogmatic and moral theology, and canon law should be taught in Latin. Disputations in philosophy and theology should likewise be carried on in Latin. Textbooks were to be designated for each faculty and approved by the bishop of the diocesan seminary; by the archbishop or bishops of the province, for the provincial seminary. Philosophy was regarded as essential to a comprehensive understanding of theology. Teachers of philosophy were required to accustom their students to the use of the rules of logic, and give them ample opportunity to practice discussion in the scholastic form through the medium of Latin. Since it was known to all devotees of true philosophy that in the doctrines of St. Thomas there was a singular power and virtue for curing evils by which the age

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44 f.

was beset, nothing could be more desirable than that seminary professors yield to the wishes of Leo XIII by adhering faithfully to the teachings of Aquinas, whom the same pontiff had declared the patron of all Catholic schools.<sup>48</sup>

As to the material to be taught, the *Schema* urged that the student be well instructed in matters concerning Christian revelation, the nature of the Church, its authority and marks, the primacy of Peter, and the infallibility of the pope. Moral theology was regarded as the "art of arts." Through it clerics were prepared to direct consciences in the internal forum, and to advise prudently and efficaciously the faithful. The teacher of Sacred Scripture should begin by vindicating the authenticity and canonical authority of each of the books, demonstrating how hermeneutics and the rules of exegesis were applied, and then strive to open up this fruitful treasury to the minds of his students with a view to nourishing their piety, instructing the people and defending religion. The professor of church history should aim to establish the truths of history against the false knowledge which had hitherto been accepted as truth, and endeavor to show how in all ages great good derived from ecclesiastical institutions. In canon law the legislation which dealt with the discipline of the Church and the decrees of plenary councils should especially be treated for the purpose of not only promoting a knowledge of the canons, but also a love and observance of them. Of theology, which was known as ascetical or mystical, the elements at least were to be taught, so that afterwards priests performing the duties of confessors might be prepared to direct souls into the way of Christian perfection. As for liturgy, seminarians should be given the historical and mystical explanation of the sacred rites and be well trained in the practice of ceremonies. Sacred eloquence was a valuable subject for enabling the student to understand the principles of speaking eloquently, and the best rules concerning the various methods of preaching. It would be of little advantage to promote the theory of eloquence unless practical exercises were given by which seminarians were taught to speak clearly and distinctly. To this end it was desirable that theological students hold a meeting at least once a year at which their teachers would be present so that they might become accustomed to speaking with facility in public. After the meeting the teachers should correct whatever errors were noted by them on the

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46 f.

part of students talking in the course of the proceedings. He who was to be in charge of the class of sacred eloquence should particularly impress upon the students the importance of explaining plainly the elements of faith in catechizing children, and of presenting Catholic doctrine clearly to the faithful. Theoretical and practical lessons should likewise be given in Gregorian chant. Bishops were cautioned not to admit to sacred orders those "who were found, for no legitimate reason, to have neglected sacred chant." Because of the usefulness of the Hebrew language in the study of biblical exegesis, one year was to be devoted to a study of it, and that might well be the last of philosophy or the first of theology. At the end of each semester, or at least at the end of the school year, all students should undergo an examination in the various courses of study before the bishops and the examiners of the clergy. Others renowned for learning from the diocesan clergy might be called in to serve on this examining board. For the faithful execution of these matters pertaining to the studies to be followed in major seminaries, it was commanded that, in the future, bishops promote no candidate to the priesthood who had not completed the program of studies outlined above, and with sufficient success.<sup>49</sup>

As regards villas, it was suggested in the *Schema* that seminarians be permitted to return to their homes during vacation. In this decision the bishops were not avoiding the expense of erecting villas suitable for vacationing in the country, but they were moved especially by the fear, which seemed to them well-founded, that clerical youths, if they were sheltered during the time of vacation and separated from the things of the world for so long, they might be found inexperienced and untried when they were sent into the world for performing the functions of their ministry. For those students who, from whatever causes, could not return to their homes, or did not have the permission of the bishop to leave for home, it was recommended that villas be instituted for the period of the summer vacation.<sup>50</sup>

Lest students in vacation time lose the fruit of their seminary training, directors and teachers were advised to instruct seminarians how they should conduct themselves when home on vacation. It was to be pointed out to them the dangers they should avoid, how they should recreate their minds, and what exercises of piety were daily incumbent upon them. Pastors were required to be vigilant of the

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47 f.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48 f.

conduct of seminarians living within their parishes during holidays so that they might be able to give in writing to the officials of the seminary an honest report of their manner of living during the vacation period. If a pastor needed information from other priests in order to make his report accurate and complete, he might require such from them.<sup>51</sup>

The *Schema* insisted that all institutions of learning conducted by diocesan priests or religious should be subject to the control of the local bishop. For this reason the regulation was laid down that private seminaries and colleges which had been established, or were about to be established, must be under the jurisdiction of the ordinary of the place where they were located. Not only was he empowered to do so, but he was obliged to exercise the right of inspection and vigilance over them. As to seminaries or colleges of religious orders or congregations, the special conditions which initiated them were to be observed.<sup>52</sup>

From the records of the *Acta et decreta* it is evident that the bishops in council were agreed that the legislation concerning major seminaries as proposed in the *Schema* was for the most part satisfactory. There were two items, however, namely, the course of studies, and the institution of villas that called forth a prolonged discussion. Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan, Coadjutor of San Francisco, maintained that due to the need for priests in the remote parts of the West, it would be impossible to require two years of philosophy and four years of theology for candidates to the priesthood. Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany of San Francisco was of the same opinion in this regard as his coadjutor. Bishop Rupert Seidenbusch, Vicar Apostolic of Minnesota, observed that a sufficient supply of priests could not be secured at home and priests could not be gotten from the eastern states. Ryan of Philadelphia called the attention of the assembly to the fact that a general law was proposed, but, if in any place it could not be kept, necessity in such a case was a valid excuse for not following the regulation. Francis S. Chatard, Bishop of Vincennes, suggested that two full years be required for the study of philosophy, and if necessity demanded it, one of theology be omitted. Alemany of San Francisco and O'Connor of Nebraska advised that this whole matter of the length of the courses of study might be settled if the

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.



decrees were to read that two years of philosophy and four years of theology were required "unless necessity compels the Ordinary to adopt a shorter course in a particular case." At length this emendation was regarded as generally satisfactory and was approved by a majority of the bishops.<sup>53</sup>

The consulting theologians had recommended that ascetical theology be dropped from the plan of studies outlined for the major seminary, and that the reasons advocated for teaching this subject be omitted. Evidently they supported this recommendation by claiming that suitable books were lacking which might be used in seminaries for proper instruction in this subject. Archbishop William Henry Elder of Cincinnati and Watterson of Columbus denied this assertion. They were supported in their view by the Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, who maintained that books could be found which treated adequately this branch of theology. Such books contained numerous examples of asceticism in which the principles of ascetical theology lay hidden. They admitted that none of these volumes was arranged in the form common to classroom use, unless perchance it might be found written in German. Gilmour testified that ascetical theology was taught in his seminary, and was very pleasing to the students. He argued that priests needed this sacred science since they must often hear confessions of religious, both men and women; and Elder contended that it was necessary even for hearing the confessions of the laity. The priest would be called upon to judge concerning vocations, and he must wisely direct lay persons who even aspired to perfection in the world. Watterson then proposed, together with Kain of Wheeling, that the whole paragraph advocating the study of ascetical theology be retained, and that this subject of study be kept in the academic program for the major seminary; and ultimately the council decided in favor of this proposal.<sup>54</sup>

Bishop Chatard inquired whether biblical exegesis should be taught in English or in Latin. Gibbons was of the opinion that it was a matter largely for the professor to decide, but Chatard declared that it might be well to have it understood that English should not be used entirely and that professors should be urged to use the Latin tongue. Patrick Ryan observed that a study of the Bible could be more usefully made in English since the verses of Holy Scripture had to be cited in

<sup>53</sup> *Acta et decreta*, p. lviii.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lviii f.



English for preaching. Bishop James A. Healy of Portland reminded the assembly that the Council of Trent had ordered that the Latin Vulgate be used in public lectures and disputations. When the proposal of Chatard was put to a vote, there were only eleven of the bishops who supported it.<sup>55</sup>

Bishop Spalding, with his gift of eloquence, naturally was concerned about the preparation of seminarians for preaching. As an aid to developing good talkers and preachers he advised that debating societies be established and encouraged in the seminary in which questions dealing with letters, history, and kindred subjects be debated. He stated that he believed that in societies of this kind students learned more than the classroom could give them, and they were trained in speaking easily and fluently. It was not surprising that Archbishop Ryan, who was a celebrated pulpit orator, contributed to this discussion by advocating that elocution be taught in every seminary throughout the full six years. He remarked that this was already the practice in some seminaries, and that it was excellent training for future priests. But Dwenger of Fort Wayne felt that ample provision was made in the *Schema* concerning sacred eloquence for the practical preparation of seminarians as future preachers, and the council sustained him in this opinion.<sup>56</sup>

Various opinions were expressed by the bishops regarding the establishment of villas. Dwenger was opposed to them because of the expense involved. Moreover, he said, he did not see any particularly good reason for them since the seminarian when at home was sufficiently provided for through the vigilance of the pastor and the letter required of him concerning the conduct of the seminarian. O'Connor of Nebraska admitted that the cost of erecting villas and maintaining them might be urged against their establishment, but he did not feel that the seminarian was sufficiently provided for by his pastor being required to make a written report on his conduct when at home. He believed that a letter of this kind in particular cases might mean very little. It might, indeed, be written, not out of love of the truth, but for the sake of the student, lest if the truth were told it might prove detrimental to the seminarian and awkward for the pastor. It was well known, he said, that priests were prone to cover up fellow priests who had fallen under suspicion. Archbishop Ryan quite agreed

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lix.

<sup>56</sup> *Loc. cit.*

that what O'Connor stated was true, but he believed that some middle course could be found. He proposed that the junior theologians be sent home during vacation, but the senior theologians who were approaching sacred orders, namely, those in the third and fourth year of theology, should remain at the seminary and prepare for the reception of orders, after the manner of scholastics among the Jesuits. Spalding did not favor this idea at all. He argued that bishops should send the students home during vacation periods because they ought to be free if they were to learn from experience, and McQuaid supported Spalding's point of view. The Bishop of Rochester was definitely opposed to villas and he asserted that it would cause him no little discomfort if the council approved the institution of them. He contended that he failed to see how bishops were going to find out what kind of priests they would have unless they were first tested and tried by experience as seminarians. He admitted that in certain countries villas might have their advantages, but in the United States conditions were quite different and did not favor the establishment of them. If this system were followed, newly-ordained priests would be suddenly ushered into the midst of dangers after being sheltered from the world for a period of six years. From his observation of American priests who had been educated at Rome, McQuaid said he doubted that an annual withdrawal to a villa furnished any argument that it made them a superior group of ecclesiastics. Healy of Portland made the suggestion that the entire section dealing with villas be eliminated, and that the matter be adroitly settled by prefacing the paragraph that urged seminary authorities to instruct carefully seminarians about the dangers encountered during the vacation period with these words: "Lest clerical students in the time of vacation, where villas have not yet been instituted, etc. . . ." Elder and Watterson regarded this suggestion as a satisfactory solution of the problem, and the result was that the proposal of the Bishop of Portland was almost unanimously accepted.<sup>57</sup>

*Seminarium principale*: Chapter III of the *Schema* which dealt with the founding of a central school of higher learning, revealed that the council of 1884 did at least contemplate the establishment of the Catholic University of America. The American bishops were well aware that the courses of philosophy and theology offered in major seminaries were not sufficient if the Church in this country was to have learned leaders

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lix f.

who would be able to defend the cause of truth against the errors and false opinions of the current systems of philosophy. They likewise realized that if the instruction given in the seminaries was to be of the highest standards, then the professors should be trained beyond the undergraduate level themselves. Consequently the *Schema* proposed for the consideration of the bishops the creation of a center of learning in which young men excelling in ability and virtue, after having completed their undergraduate work, might spend three or four years studying theology, philosophy, or canon law together with the natural sciences. From all over the country clerics and priests of superior accomplishments might be gathered into this central school for the purpose of acquiring advanced knowledge. This *seminarium principale* was to be subject in every way to the jurisdiction, direction, and administration of the bishops, who were to define a plan of studies for it, decide upon its professors and officials, and ordain all other things pertaining to the best administration of the institution. Clergy and laity alike were to be exhorted to take a deep interest in this project, and those who enjoyed wealth were to be appealed to so that they might offer freely substantial contributions for the realization of such an important undertaking so useful for the good of the Church and the welfare of the people.<sup>58</sup>

To prevent this center of learning from remaining merely an idea, it was proposed that a committee of bishops be appointed whose duty it would be to formulate plans by which, as soon as it could be done, this higher seminary might be founded. Meanwhile the bishops were encouraged to send students who gave promise of greater advancement to the universities of Rome, Louvain, and Innsbruck.<sup>59</sup> Gibbons, as apostolic delegate, appointed in the council, Archbishops Alemany, Ryan, and Kenrick, and Bishop Spalding as members of the committee on this central school of higher learning.<sup>60</sup> The records of the *Acta et decreta* do not indicate the details of the discussion that took place in the council concerning this proposed school. One will find only the following succinct statement:

Although many of the speakers favored the proposal of the *Schema*, some thought it best that there should be given a larger and more perfect

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<sup>58</sup> *Schema decretorum*, pp. 50 f.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>60</sup> *Acta et decreta*, p. lx.

course of studies in theological seminaries, for there could not be obtained a supply of money and persons for founding the principal seminary.<sup>61</sup>

The consulting theologians advised that the contents of this chapter be referred to the special committee of the bishops. The bishops for the most part agreed, with the exception of Kenrick of St. Louis, Tobias Mullen of Erie, and some twenty others.<sup>62</sup> Five days before the council closed the committee made its report, which contained four main statements: 1. a seminary should be erected like the Dunboyne in Ireland, or Louvain in Belgium, from which the university was to grow; 2. it should be erected near a large and populous city; 3. a Catholic woman had promised that she would give \$300,000 for the erection and endowment of such an institution; 4. a commission should be formed of five or seven priests and some laymen to whom should be given the care of erecting and administering the school. After the report was read, Healy of Portland suggested that priests likewise be admitted to the membership of the committee, and Bishop John Hennessy of Dubuque further suggested that the number of bishops on the committee should be greater than the number of priests and laymen combined. Both suggestions, together with the report of the committee, were accepted by the council.<sup>63</sup> It is clear from this report that the council did not legislate specifically for the immediate establishment of the Catholic University of America, but by its formal action in appointing a committee for the purpose of instituting the means necessary for its foundation, it prepared the way for the founding of the University which was eventually opened in November, 1889.

*Further Educational Legislation:* In Chapter IV the *Schema* proposed certain measures for the examination of the junior clergy. Once

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lvii. That there was opposition to the bishops' acting positively in this matter is evident from one of the very few detailed accounts extant on the conciliar discussions concerning the university, given in a letter written by Bishop Thomas Byrne of Nashville to Sister Mary Agnes McCann under date of December 3, 1917. The letter contains a description of what might be termed the "Hoc Opus Magnum" speech of Robert Fulton, S.J., (1826-1895), who was at the time invited to the council as provincial of the New York-Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus. According to this document, an eloquent attack was made by Fulton against this chapter on the *seminarium principale* in the *Schema*. Cf. John Tracy Ellis, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, 1946), pp. 103-107.

<sup>62</sup> *Acta et decreta*, p. lx.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxix.

the sacred order of priesthood had been conferred no priest should think that he was free to give up study. On the contrary, he should realize that the rest of his life was to be devoted to prayer, work, and study. How important it was that the sacred sciences be assiduously cultivated by priests, the Second Plenary Council had clearly declared. It was obvious that a full and perfect knowledge of the theological disciplines could not be obtained in the time that was spent in the seminary; in fact, the academic training received there should be daily strengthened by untiring study after ordination. To develop among the junior clergy studious habits, five times in five successive years they were to undergo an examination before the bishop, or his delegate, and the examiners of the diocesan clergy, in the principal theological branches: dogmatic and moral theology, Scripture, canon law, church history, and liturgy. If a priest did not satisfactorily pass each examination, he was to be subject to as many more examinations after the period of five years as he had failed to pass. This same regulation should be applied in the case of him who was absent from an examination without the permission of the bishop. To impress upon young priests the importance of these examinations the grades obtained by each of the examined were to be placed on file in the episcopal archives and referred to for determining his future assignments.<sup>64</sup>

As a further means of education of the clergy, Chapter V proposed that theological conferences be held periodically. Bishops were exhorted to arrange conferences or meetings on theological matters which might serve "to refresh the minds of the clergy on the major branches of theology, arouse intellectual interests, promote uniform practice in the direction of souls, and furnish opportune occasion for eliminating abuses." All priests whether secular or religious, having the *cura animarum*, were obliged to attend these conferences; and those who, without a legitimate reason and the permission of the bishop failed to be present, were to be punished. In places where access was easy, it was advised that conferences should be held four times a year; in rural districts, twice a year. Suitable questions concerning doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline were to be proposed for discussion; and the solution of a case of conscience was to be made a principal part of the discussion. The name of each priest attending was to be written on a slip of paper and placed in an urn from which two slips were

<sup>64</sup> *Schema decretorum*, p. 51.

to be drawn, and those whose names were called were to read their answers—prepared in writing—and discuss the case. The questions bearing on dogmatic theology, Scripture, canon law, and liturgy were to be discussed by those who had been appointed in the preceding conference to be responsible for them.<sup>65</sup>

The fathers of the council, judging from the *Acta et decreta*, were well pleased with both these chapters. No serious objection was taken to any part of them. Here and there it was suggested that certain words be omitted or modified, but the substance of the chapters in general was approved by unanimous vote. The bishops had fostered and promoted the education of the clergy by means of decrees passed in relation to minor and major seminaries; and now in the present chapter they approved further practical legislation by means of which the priests of the American Church were to be continually kept in touch with books and things of the mind.

*Parochial Schools:* It was a natural sequence in the *Schema* that after providing for clerical education the bishops should treat of the education of Catholic youth. Title VI on this subject contained two chapters: one on elementary schools and the other on higher schools. The first treated of the supreme necessity of parochial elementary schools, and then of ways and means of promoting them. The introductory part of the chapter pointed out that the Church and the spirit of the world were in conflict concerning the education of youth. Men having entirely a worldly viewpoint have attempted to take away from the Church the duty of teaching Catholic youth, and to entrust the whole matter of education to civil society, or at least subject it to the power of secular governments. But the Church whose mission it was to lead man, regenerated in Christ by baptism, from the first use of reason to a supernatural end, could never permit Catholic parents, whose right and duty it was to look after the Christian education of their children "to procure for them merely a secular education." Among those who strongly advocated mere secular education have been many who wished to do no damage to religion. But it had been proved from experience, declared the *Schema*, that such education gradually so degenerated that it became irreligious and dangerous to the faith and morals of youth. It was imperative, therefore, that Catholic parents "procure for their children a truly Christian education by sending them to parochial schools." The bishops in the plenary

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.



councils of 1852 and 1866, in view of the great evils which usually resulted from the defective education of youth, had exhorted the faithful to establish schools in connection with all parishes in a diocese, so that in them Catholic children might be taught "letters and skillful arts as well as religion and proper morals." In 1875 the Congregation of the Propaganda issued an instruction to the bishops of the United States concerning the public schools, in which Catholics, both for their own sake and the vital interests of the American Republic, were directed to establish their own schools. Catholic schools were to be started where they were then lacking, and where they were already established every effort was to be made toward enlarging them and providing them with better accommodations and equipment, by comparison with the public schools. The encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII to the bishops of France of February 8, 1884, had likewise urged the necessity of Christian education in Catholic schools. Catholic parents had a solemn obligation to see to it that their children from their earliest years were trained in the precepts of religion. This duty was imposed on them by the divine and natural law and "from this law they cannot be dispensed for any reason." This training could not be gotten in mixed or neutral schools which the Church has always openly condemned.<sup>66</sup>

Although the necessity and obligation of training youth in Catholic schools was apparent, Catholic parents, so the *Schema* continued, might for a sufficient reason send their children to a public school. Whether a sufficient reason was present or not "must be left to the conscience and judgment of the bishop." In these particular cases neither parents nor children were to be excluded from the sacraments as unworthy. Pastors of souls, while they might admonish the faithful committed to their spiritual care concerning the dangers of public schools, were commanded to beware lest, "led by immoderate zeal," they violate the counsels of the Church in this regard.<sup>67</sup>

In view of the background to the educational legislation of the council of 1884, the *Schema* laid down four fundamental rules governing the decrees which were to follow. The four rules were stated thus:

1. Near every church, when it does not already exist, a parochial school

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

is to be erected within two years from the promulgation of this Council, and to be kept up in the future, unless in the judgment of the Bishop the erection and maintenance of the school is impossible.

2. A priest who is gravely negligent in erecting the school within this time or is gravely negligent in its maintenance after it is erected can and must be removed from that church.

3. The mission or parish which so neglects to aid the priest in erecting or maintaining the school, that on account of this supine negligence the school cannot exist, is to be reprimanded by the Bishop, and if it shall have been contumacious, it is to be given spiritual punishments.

4. All Catholic parents are bound to send their children to parochial schools, unless at home or in other Catholic schools they provide sufficiently and fully for their Christian education, or on account of a good reason approved by the Bishop, using meanwhile the necessary precautions and remedies, they are permitted to send them to other schools.<sup>68</sup>

If the observance of the above regulations were enjoined on the consciences of priests, the faithful, and especially Catholic parents, the *Schema* declared that it was the duty of bishops to provide not only nominal, but actually good and efficient schools which "shall be nowise inferior to the public schools," as the instruction of the congregation of the Propaganda of 1875 had directed. It was necessary, therefore, that certain legislation be enacted by which parochial schools might be brought up to the standard of usefulness "demanded by the honor of the Church, the eternal and temporal welfare of the children, and merited by the generous devotion of the parents." This legislation should give priests, laity, and teachers a proper understanding of their duties toward the schools so that they might fulfill them faithfully.

As regards priests, the *Schema* recommended that candidates for the priesthood be impressed with the fact in the seminary that one of their principal future duties related to the Christian education of youth; and that it would be impossible to fulfill this duty without parochial or other truly Catholic schools. Therefore, in the studies of psychology, pedagogy, and pastoral theology, special stress was to be placed upon the matter of education; and seminarians were to be instructed in the better methods of explaining the catechism and Bible history. Priests should frequently visit their schools and inspect them, or certain grades of them, at least once a week, watching over the children's morals, and stimulating them to greater efforts by

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55 f.

proper rewards. They should teach catechism and Bible history themselves, and also observe the teaching of the other studies, and by public examinations once or twice a year, bring their schools to the attention of their people and commend them to their patronage. Prompted by high motives they should perform these duties zealously, realizing that their promotion to an irremovable rectorate or other dignity might well depend upon their care of the parish school.<sup>69</sup>

As to the laity, they should regard their parochial school as an essential adjunct of the parish without which the future existence of the congregation would be imperiled. They should clearly understand that the school was nowise a matter of choice with the priest to prove his zeal or adapted to pass away his leisure time pleasantly. It was a duty and at the same time a burden imposed upon him by the Church, but not without the aid of the faithful. The erroneous opinion in the minds of some of the laity was to be uprooted, viz., that the solicitude for the school was to be confined to that portion of the congregation actually and directly making use of it for their children. It should be plainly demonstrated to them by obvious arguments that the profits and blessings accruing from the preservation of faith and morals in parochial schools redounded to the benefit of the whole community. All this was to be done with a view to leading the people of the parish to cherish the parochial school next to their church. The laity were obligated to give the schools fitting and generous support by uniting their efforts to enable each parish to pay the current expenses for education. They should be admonished by pastoral letters, sermons, and even in private conversations about the serious neglect of their duty if they failed to provide properly for schools. In this matter those especially needed urging who were wealthy and enjoyed popular influence. The prompt payment of the small monthly fee charged for each pupil should be made by all who could afford it. Parishioners who did not have children in school ought to be willing to increase the revenues of the Church to the extent necessary to meet the expenses of the school. All, whether parents, heads of families, or young people earning wages, should become members of the society for the promotion of schools. This kind of association had already been introduced into many localities with the special blessing of the pope, and it had for its object to collect small but regular contributions which might help to make the schools, if not

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

altogether, at least partially free, schools. If these contributions were generously made, a marked improvement would follow in the external and internal arrangements of the schoolhouses; the number of teachers could be readily increased; the pupils divided into less numerous and better graded classes—all of which would lift Catholic schools to a higher degree of efficiency.<sup>70</sup>

The *Schema* also provided that certain rights and privileges accurately defined by diocesan statutes should be conceded to laymen in respect to the schools. Three or more good laymen known personally to the pastor or recommended by the members of the parish, together with the pastor and three other priests designated by the bishop, might very well constitute a school committee. It would be the duty of this committee to inspect and examine schools once or twice a year. Laymen on the committee would be permitted to inspect and examine only their own parochial schools; and it was to be understood that the rights of the pastor must be respected regarding the appointment and dismissal of teachers.<sup>71</sup>

Since the status and improvement of parish schools depended in large measure upon the fitness of teachers, the *Schema* was insistent that the utmost care must be taken that none but capable and even excellent teachers were put in charge. In the future individuals were not to be admitted to the teaching office in the parochial school unless they had proved themselves by previous examination capable and suitable. Within one year from the promulgation of the council's decrees, bishops were to name three priests skilled in school matters, who should constitute the "Diocesan Board of Examination." They were to be appointed *usque ad revocationem* and should solemnly promise that they would perform the duties of their office to the best of their ability, and in accordance with the rules laid down by the bishop. It would be the duty of this board to examine all teachers of both sexes, whether religious or secular, who should desire in the future to assume the duty of teaching in parochial schools. To those who were found worthy, a certificate or diploma was to be given, without which no priest should engage any teacher of either sex to teach in his school unless he or she had been teaching before the present council. This diploma was to remain in force for five years and was to hold good for all dioceses. At the end of this period another and

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56 f.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

final examination was to be required of all teachers. Those who failed in either examination should receive no diploma, but should be put off for examination to the following year. This examination was to take place once a year. Members of religious communities might take the examination in their houses and at the times agreed upon by the examiners and superiors; seculars, at the time and in the place designated by the examiners. The questions for the written examination were to be prepared by the whole board. On the day of the examination the sealed questions were to be opened in the presence of those to be examined, who should work out their answers under the eyes of one of the members of the board or his deputy. After the written part of the examination had been taken, an oral examination should be held before the whole board as soon as possible. Before leaving the place of examination the examiners were to make out three lists of those who had satisfactorily passed. One was to be delivered to the religious superior, or to the secular candidate, a second retained by the president of the board, and the third should be transmitted to the office of the chancellor of the diocese.<sup>72</sup>

Besides this board for the examination of teachers for the whole diocese, bishops were to appoint other school boards, according to differences of places and languages, composed of three priests to examine schools in cities and rural districts. It would be the duty of these boards to visit and examine each school in their particular area once or twice a year, reporting accurately the condition of the schools to the president of the school board for the information and action of the bishop.<sup>73</sup>

In order that a well-prepared corps of Catholic teachers might always be had, the *Schema* advocated the establishment of normal schools where needed. These could be instituted in convenient houses where junior members might be trained for a protracted period under expert and capable teachers of the different sciences, school discipline, methods of teaching, and other matters connected with the proper administration of schools. Wherever priests, secular or regular, carried on successfully these normal schools, and this had already been done in several localities, they should be commended for doing a work "worthy of every praise and encouragement."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57 f.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>74</sup> *Loc. cit.*

*Higher Schools:* Chapter II urged the establishment of higher Catholic schools in view of the fact that the number of Catholic youths, talented and well-to-do, was daily increasing, many of whom looked forward to a college training. The faithful were exhorted by their united efforts to hasten the happy consummation when academies, colleges, and Catholic universities should become so numerous and well equipped that Catholic youth might find in their own schools whatsoever they proposed to learn. The ideal in Catholic education was to have Catholic youth advance by regular ascent from the elementary school to the Catholic college. To bring this to pass, Catholic parents were exhorted in the *Schema* to send their children who desired to perfect their education to the existing Catholic schools of advanced instruction. But if, perchance, there should be no Catholic schools for the special courses desired by their children, and parents were forced for this reason to allow them to attend non-Catholic institutions, every danger to faith and morals should be removed. For the furtherance of Catholic colleges, an appeal should be made to wealthy Catholics "for the honor of the Catholic name" to donate generously for their foundation and endowment. Riches could be put to no better use than to provide opportunities of higher education to poor youth who had given solid evidences by ability, good disposition, and moral conduct, of future piety, utility, and excellence. Already in many dioceses Catholic men had come forward with generous donations in behalf of free higher education for deserving students, and for this work of Christian charity they were deserving of the highest commendation.<sup>75</sup>

Officials and professors of Catholic academies and colleges were charged in the *Schema* with the duty of watching over the morals of their youthful charges. They were to see to it that Catholic youth was properly instructed in Christian doctrine, not incidentally and cursorily, but in a thorough manner. They were likewise obligated to provide the best kind of instruction in the arts and sciences so that their students might be equal to those of the finest non-Catholic schools, and superior to them in the conduct of their lives. As it was not unusual for non-Catholic parents to commit their sons and daughters to Catholic academies and colleges, Catholic students were thereby mixed with those not of the faith. Many who were not otherwise favorable to the Church showed their confidence in the priests and

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59 f.



religious, especially religious women, by entrusting young people to their direction and teaching. The reception of non-Catholics was not prohibited, according to the *Schema*, but where Catholics were mixed with others, superiors were urged to watch vigilantly over the morals of all the students. And this was imperative, not only in order that "Catholics might suffer no harm from contact with non-Catholics, but also that non-Catholics might not be scandalized by Catholics." The instruction of the Holy Office of January 1, 1866, cited in the instruction of the Congregation of the Propaganda of April 25, 1868, sent to the bishops of the United States, had forbidden that non-Catholic students be obliged to assist at Mass and other church services, but it should be left to their own option. The rules of the school should strictly forbid discussions on religious matters between the students in the absence of their teachers and without their express knowledge. It was not "by contention, but by prayer and virtuous examples on the part of both superiors and students," that non-Catholics were to be drawn to embrace the true religion.<sup>76</sup>

*Education of Negroes and Indians:* In Title VIII of the *Schema* which treated of zeal for souls, the fathers of the council were reminded of their Christian duty to provide for the education of Negroes and Indians.<sup>77</sup> The provincial councils were called upon by the council of 1884 for special legislation where Negroes were numerous regarding better and more efficacious measures by which the salvation and Christian education of these people might be promoted. The bishops were urged by every possible means to provide for the erection of churches, schools, orphanages, and asylums for the use of

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60 f.

<sup>77</sup> Archbishop Gibbons wrote to Archbishop Francis X. Leray of New Orleans on March 29, 1884, requesting him "to please accept as the subject of your special consideration the Eleventh (De cura pastoralis pro hominibus Negris), Chapter of the *Schema*, and to send me your views and observations thereon in writing, on or before the 1st day of next August. . . . You might also, if it meets your approval, associate with you some of your Suffragans and some Theologians of your own or of their choosing." Cf. Archives of The University of Notre Dame, hereafter referred to as AUND, New Orleans Papers, 1884, James Gibbons to Francis X. Leray, Baltimore, March 29, 1884. Leray evidently did nothing about it because no report from him is found in the official *Relationes*. However, he was appointed as chairman of the permanent committee dealing with this particular chapter which was discussed in the council under the general title of "Zeal for Souls." Cf. *Acta et decreta*, p. ix.

colored people.<sup>78</sup> In the pastoral letter of 1884 issued at the end of the council on December 7, the colored population of the United States was estimated at six million.<sup>79</sup> Of this number there was a large multitude who were sorely in need of Christian instruction and missionary labor. It was most difficult in the poor dioceses in which they were mostly found to bestow on them the care they needed without the generous co-operation of the Catholic people in more prosperous localities. For this reason the decrees of the *Schema* urged the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in every parish in which it had not yet been established, and there was also ordered a collection to be made yearly in all the dioceses, a part of which was to be used for the maintenance of missions for Negroes.<sup>80</sup>

In this same title the *Schema* also favored the continuance of the commission on Indian affairs through which money was obtained from the federal government for erecting and maintaining schools in which some of the Indians were taught by missionaries and religious women.<sup>81</sup> The outcome of this approval was that the bishops, sensing the need of an organized effort to preserve the faith of both the Catholic Indians and Negroes, appointed a permanent commission for this purpose which took the name of the Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians. A priest of the Society of St. Sulpice has usually acted as secretary of the commission since its establishment.

When the chapters dealing with the education of Catholic youth were submitted to the bishops in council for comment, the discussion centered largely around two questions: (a) should the council *command* the establishment of parochial schools to which Catholic parents *must* send their children or should it merely earnestly exhort such? (b) what was a truly Catholic school? The records of the *Acta et decreta* reveal that the fathers debated frankly and fully on these two vital issues before deciding what the action of the council in their regard ought to be.

Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, with whom Bishop Edward

<sup>78</sup> *Schema decretorum*, pp. 70 f.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Guilday (ed.), *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)* (Washington, 1923), p. 263.

<sup>80</sup> *Schema decretorum*, p. 72.

<sup>81</sup> *Loc. cit.*

Fitzgerald of Little Rock agreed, first suggested that the council content itself with an exhortation rather than decide in favor of a command that parochial schools be erected. These two bishops made the same suggestion regarding the obligation of parents to send their children to a Catholic school. But Dwenger objected to softening down the words of the decree, maintaining that, if in certain circumstances the law could not be kept, the council should nevertheless make the law and command that it be followed. The public school was regarded by him and many others in the council as a center of propaganda in favor of indifferentism. Evidently Fitzgerald did not take so alarming a view of the evils and dangers of public schools, because he opposed outright the entire new decree. He argued that the duty of the priest was to teach religion only; and if children had been instructed in religion the pastor had fulfilled his duty; and for this the catechism was sufficient. By no law, he further contended, was a priest bound, nor were parents themselves bound, to send children to a school for learning secular subjects.<sup>82</sup> This point of view was definitely contrary to the general Catholic opinion regarding schools at that time; and in the light of the subsequent school controversy of the 1890's, the viewpoint of the Bishop of Little Rock in the matter of Catholic education was decidedly liberal. When in the Archdiocese of St. Paul, John Ireland adopted the Faribault Plan, which had as its prototype the Poughkeepsie arrangement under Archbishop McCloskey, many Catholics were strongly opposed to it. It precipitated the well-known school controversy of 1891-1893, of which Thomas Bouquillon, professor of moral theology in the Catholic University of America, was a leading protagonist. Eventually the whole matter was carried to Rome, and although there was strong opposition, Propaganda decided on April 21, 1892, that Ireland's agreement relative to the schools of Faribault and Stillwater, in view of all the circumstances, "Tolerari potest." After a couple of years this arrangement in the schools of Faribault and Stillwater was voluntarily discontinued by the Catholic authorities.<sup>83</sup>

Archbishop Feehan declared that it might be more prudent to urge parents to send their children to Catholic schools by persuasion and admonition rather than by command. He said he based this assertion

<sup>82</sup> *Acta et decreta*, p. lxi.

<sup>83</sup> For a recent treatment of the so-called Fairbault Plan cf. Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., *The School Controversy, 1891-1893* (Washington, 1943).

on his own experience. He had exhorted parents to send their children to a parochial school, but at the same time he had seen to it that the Archdiocese of Chicago had good schools taught by trained and experienced teachers; and because the parents knew this they willingly sent their children to them. Bishop Caspar Borgess of Detroit stated that his experience was just the opposite. For twenty years he had relied on exhortations but he had accomplished very little. It was not until he had declared the case of him who refused to send his child to a parochial school to be a reserved one that many parents sent their children to Catholic schools. Richard Gilmour commended the view expressed by Borgess, and called the attention of the assembly to the most recent instruction of the Propaganda of October 3, 1884, which enjoined that children before receiving first communion must attend a parochial school for one year. Hennessy of Dubuque saw no reason why the language of the law should not be severe, provided that the enforcement of the law was tempered with some leniency. Bishop Francis Janssens of Natchez and Bishop Watterson of Columbus expressed a similar opinion; and likewise Heiss of Milwaukee who cautioned that if the word "command" were dropped, Catholic schools where they already existed would suffer, whereas where they did not exist no harm would be done even if the word was retained.

Patrick Ryan warned the bishops to bear in mind that only cautiously and prudently must a command be imposed. There must always be a sufficient reason for a command, in this particular case, viz., the proximate occasion of sin or because children did not receive suitable instruction in the Catholic religion; and he pointed out further that parochial schools must exist before parents be ordered to send their children to them. Apropos of the latter remark Fitzgerald of Little Rock related an incident of a certain bishop who reserved to himself the case of a penitent who refused to send his child to a parochial school, and yet in his diocese there was not a sufficient number of schools which children might attend. On this statement McQuaid commented to the effect that it was understood that there could be no obligation of sending children to a parochial school if a convenient one was not to be had. At the same time he denounced public schools, maintaining that they developed friendships between Catholics and non-Catholics which led to mixed marriages.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Acta et decreta*, pp. lix f.

Bishop Flasch of La Crosse approved the remarks of McQuaid, and in a lengthy discourse dealing with the absolute necessity of parochial schools, he concluded his comments by stating that parents must be commanded and not merely exhorted to send their children to Catholic schools. At this stage of the discussion Healy of Portland offered what he thought was a fair solution to the whole question by suggesting that, in the decree warning parents against the evils of a merely secular education and commanding them to give their children a Catholic education, the conclusion of the decree should read: "thus they must send them to parochial schools or at least truly Catholic schools, unless the Ordinary judges that otherwise it may be done." Ryan of Philadelphia approved this suggestion, as did Alemany. Fitzgerald was sympathetic to it, but he claimed it raised another question as to what was understood by a truly Catholic school. The Bishop of Little Rock contended that he knew of certain schools similar to some which he had in his own diocese, and which he regarded as truly Catholic, yet the teachers and pupils of these schools were refused the sacraments by the pastor and the bishop for the sole reason that the school was not parochial. Watterson believed that these additional words in the decree were unnecessary because they occurred later in the fourth of the fundamental rules governing the whole educational legislation. Apropos of this observation Dwenger pointed out that there was a marked difference in the two decrees. In the decree under discussion a general principle was laid down; in a subsequent decree the exceptions were provided. Bishop Joseph Machebeuf, Vicar Apostolic of Colorado, held that the additional words in the decree proposed by Healy complicated matters. In particular localities a Catholic school could not be regarded as truly Catholic, owing very often to a lack of suitable teachers. He cited an instance of a school in his vicariate for which a qualified Catholic teacher could not be found, and he was forced to use the services of a non-Catholic citizen. He testified that this teacher not only taught the boys letters, but also prayers and the catechism, and he performed his duty in a most satisfactory manner.<sup>85</sup>

Gilmour maintained that he saw no reason for so much discussion concerning the establishment of parochial schools because they had already been commanded in Chapter V of Title II which treated of irremovable pastors. Consequently, even in this decree it should be

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxiii.



commanded in regard to them, not exhorted, and elsewhere in the *Schema* the exceptions were provided for. William McCloskey of Louisville was of the opinion that this whole matter was settled by the statement which was made by the Roman cardinals of the Propaganda to the effect that it was not expedient to make a decree concerning the establishment of parochial schools. He was referring to the question raised by Archbishop Seghers of Oregon City in Rome the previous year as to the advisability of a decree by which under some penalty priests might be bound to erect parochial schools. The answer of the cardinals had been that it was not expedient to make such a decree on account of the difficulties in which many priests would be involved. Seghers pointed out that the words "not expedient" should not be understood concerning the decree itself, but concerning the penalty to be connected with the decree. Healy argued that in the particular decree then under discussion the Catholic education of the child was commanded, and the additional words suggested by himself merely formed the conclusion. He urged that the emendation which he had advanced be accepted. Finally the fathers of the council approved the Healy proposal by a vote of forty-one in favor and thirty-three against.<sup>86</sup>

The bishops next turned to an analysis of the four fundamental regulations basic to the entire school legislation. Riordan of San Francisco advised that each regulation be carefully analyzed and thoroughly discussed. Fitzgerald objected to the introductory statement that "we decide and we decree" the following regulations. He saw no reason why it was decreed in this particular instance when it was not stated that it was expressly decreed in similar cases. From statistics, he contended, it was evident that either parochial schools could not be established, or often where they were established they were not sufficient to take care of a large number of the faithful. He suggested that the four rules be introduced by the words, "we wish and we urge." Dwenger disagreed with this suggestion because it was sufficiently provided in the *Schema* when there was the question of exceptions. Apparently the bishops of the council felt the same in regard to this matter because the proposal of Fitzgerald was ultimately rejected by them.<sup>87</sup>

The first regulation ordering the erection of a parochial school near each church, where it did not already exist, within two years

<sup>86</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxiv.



from the promulgation of the council's legislation gave rise to no differences of opinion. The second rule relating to a priest who, within the aforesaid time, hindered by serious negligence, the building and maintenance of a school with the suggestion that he deserved removal from that church, was satisfactorily worded in the eyes of Michael Corrigan, but he doubted that it would be approved by the Propaganda. McQuaid thought that whatever penalty was to be meted out to the priest should be left to the judgment of his bishop. Chatard observed that the fact that the regulation stated the priest hindered the erection of the school "by serious negligence" justified the recommendation that he be removed from that church. When the third regulation was taken up, dealing with the mission or parish failing to aid the priest in the erection and support of the school and suggesting that it be reprimanded by the bishop and spiritual punishments imposed, Healy proposed that the regulation close with the idea of a reprimand by the bishop, and that the suggestion of spiritual punishments be omitted. But the members of the council were not sympathetic to Healy's suggestion. Chatard declared that a useful spiritual punishment would be the withdrawal of the priest from the mission or parish; to this Dwenger agreed, and claimed that he had already done so in his diocese and would continue to do so in the future.<sup>88</sup>

(To be continued)

*The Catholic University of America*

<sup>88</sup> *Loc. cit.*

## MISCELLANY

### CARDINAL GIBBONS' ASSISTANCE TO PASTOR'S *History of the Popes*

One of the favorite types of reading of James Cardinal Gibbons was history. The cardinal was especially fond of books on the history of the Catholic Church and on the Constitution of the United States. During his long life he not only read carefully in the history of his Church and his country, but he also gave generously of his time and money to help worthy historical projects. The Baltimore Cathedral Archives give ample evidence of this interest on Gibbons' part. Numbered among the beneficiaries of his generosity were John Gilmary Shea for his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution of Washington for securing manuscripts from the archives of Rome, Vienna, and other European centers, as well as the personnel of various historical societies of the American Church and the State of Maryland which arose during the late nineteenth century.

An interesting example of the willingness of Gibbons to be of assistance to historical scholarship is shown in a series of letters which were exchanged on the subject of help to Ludwig von Pastor to enable the Austrian scholar to complete his *History of the Popes*. The correspondence was inaugurated with Cardinal Gibbons by Cardinal Bourne of Westminster to whom Pastor had written an appeal for help. These eighteen letters, running in time from April 4, 1919, to January 10, 1921, either in the original or in copy, demonstrate not only Gibbons' efforts to assist the historian of the papacy, but they show as well the severe hazards which Pastor encountered in his scholarly work by reason of World War I and its aftermath. It is a source of deep regret that the library which he had assembled in Rome for his work, and which he so explicitly promised to leave to the Archdiocese of Baltimore for the Catholic University of America as a token of gratitude for the money advanced to him, never reached its destination.

The letters from Pastor were all written in English. In some cases the construction betrays a lack of familiarity with the English idiom, although the meaning is quite clear. A few minor corrections have been made in spelling and in punctuation and the headings of the letters have been simplified and made uniform. Otherwise the texts are exactly as they appear in the originals or in the copies. In several cases the letters of Pastor were written in another hand than the one that signed them. It is likely that he employed someone to compose his English letters and then set his signature to them. Unfortunately, there are a few gaps in this correspondence which a search of the Baltimore Cathedral Archives

did not reveal. The final letter from Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, to Pastor reveals that American financial aid was still reaching the historian of the popes seven years after the death of Cardinal Gibbons.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

*The Catholic University of America*

Ludwig von Pastor to Francis Cardinal Bourne.

Innsbruck

April 4, 1919.

Your Eminence,

To the most precious remembrances of my Roman stay I count having had the honour of making the acquaintance of your Lordship. My lord showed such warm interest and profound appreciation for my "History of the Popes" that I dare to speak of your Eminence about the following:

When I was 19 years old I conceived the plan to oppose [to] the much read Protestant History of the Popes by the Berlin Professor Ranke, which was also translated into English, a Catholic work. A refutation was only possible by a more extent [*sic*] exhibiton of facts, founded in the intense exploration of archives in the different countries, especially of the Vatican archives. The great Pope Leo XIII. acknowledged the necessity of this enterprise and so I was the first to whom he opened the Vatican archive in 1879. Uninterruptedly working in the different archives and libraries of Europe, I thus finished six volumes of my work, which was also translated into Italian, French, Spanish and English. (In the English translation each volume of the German work is divided into two parts). Three further volumes are completed in the manuscript, but could not be printed in consequence of the war. Four volumes are still wanting to the completion of the work, which has to go up as far as to the year 1800.

Many scientific travels to visit the archives were necessary, besides I am since many years compelled to have a scientific assistant on account of my weak eyes. All this required expenses, for which my salary was not sufficient and therefore I had to take considerable sums from my private fortune.

Having five children these expenses were no trifle for me and finally became impossible.

Considering the importance of the work some Austrian and Hungarian bishops generously supported me before the breaking out of the war. By the total ruin of our empire this source tarried now and through the losses which I had myself during the war by the dearness of all provisions

and the higher taxes and imposts, it is quite impossible to me to bear of my own means the expenses for scientific travels, for copies from the archives for books and especially for the salary of my assistant who is absolutely necessary to me on account of the bad state of my eyes.

Sixty five years old I stand before the hard necessity of renouncing to complete the work of my life, if I am not supported by Catholic Charity from abroad. Most of all I would regret it, that, if my History of the Popes cannot be completed, the intended purpose to supplant the Protestant work would but partly be gained.

In this trial I take refuge to your Eminence and dare to ask your Eminence to help me. If your Eminence, taken up by other duties, cannot help me by your own means, I am sure your Eminence would find some Catholic Maecenas in England or America, who would willingly support a work which is dedicated to the defence of the Apostolic See. Having only lived for my scientific works and never occupied myself with political affairs, I only bear the character of a Catholic author, who by the translations may in a certain sense be said to be international. To complete my work I still want 8 years. If your Eminence would for this time have the grace to give me either in yearly rates or under one the necessary aid, I felt deeply obliged to your Eminence and would from the bottom of my heart be thankful for it. I may say, helping me would in this case be rendering a real service to the Apostolic See.

Your Eminence may be assured that it was not easy for me to trouble your Eminence with my affairs. But under the present circumstances I know of no other way to get help and I humbly beg of your Eminence to forgive me my boldness.

In deepest respect and veneration and asking for the holy blessing I am

Your Eminence  
most obedient  
L. V. Pastor<sup>1</sup>

Francis Cardinal Bourne to James Cardinal Gibbons.

Westminster,  
May 26, 1919.

My dear Lord Cardinal,

May I send you a copy of a letter which I have received from Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Baltimore Cathedral Archives, 121-G.

Pastor. I trust that it may be possible to obtain him some assistance in the United States. I am already sending him what I am able to afford.

Believe me

Your affectionate servant in Christ

F. Card. Bourne<sup>2</sup>

James Cardinal Gibbons to Sebastian G. Messmer, Archbishop of Milwaukee.

Baltimore

July 11, 1919, copy.

Your Grace:-

On the 15th of June I wrote you, asking if you would appeal to the Bishops of the country in behalf of Dr. Pastor, author of "The History of the Popes". This appeal which came to me through the Cardinal of Westminster appeared to me so deserving of help, that I thought you would be the best one to obtain him some assistance in the United States, so that he might complete his work in every sense of the word international. I am willing to start the subscription with \$100. Up to this time I have received no reply, and it may be that you did not receive my letter.

With sentiments of esteem, I am

Most faithfully yours in Xto.,

J. Card. Gibbons<sup>3</sup>

James Cardinal Gibbons to Sebastian G. Messmer, Archbishop of Milwaukee.

Baltimore

July 14, 1919, copy.

My dear Archbishop:-

Under date of June the 15th I wrote you asking your help in behalf of Doctor Pastor, author of the History of the Popes. Not having received a reply, I presume the letter has miscarried. In the meantime, having seen Bishop Muldoon I have requested him to take the matter up and thus relieve you of the worry.

With sentiments of the highest esteem, I am

Most faithfully yours in Xto.,

J. Card. Gibbons<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-S.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-G.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-J.

James Cardinal Gibbons to Peter J. Muldoon, Bishop of Rockford.

Baltimore

July 14, 1919, copy.

My dear Bishop:-

I am enclosing you a copy of a letter received from Cardinal Bourne of Westminster. As you will notice he asks my assistance for Dr. Pastor the author of the History of the Popes. I considered the cause such a worthy one that under date of June the 15th I wrote Archbishop Messmer to appeal to the Bishops of the country. Not having heard from him I presume that he is absent from home. I would now request you to take up the matter. I feel sure if you would write to a few leading Bishops asking for a modest contribution, you might get two thousand dollars or more which would be a very respectable sum. I renew my offer to head the list with one hundred dollars.

With sentiments of esteem, I am,  
Most faithfully yours in Xto.,  
J. Card. Gibbons<sup>5</sup>

Sebastian G. Messmer to James Cardinal Gibbons

Milwaukee

July 18, 1919.

Your Eminence

Esteemed Friend.

Your letter of June 5 regarding Prof. Pastor's History of the Popes did not miscarry. It got here all right. But I regret my neglect in answering at once, instead of waiting until I would have something positive to report. I only just now am through with the heavy work in the diocese which has taken me away from my house five days out of every week. Today we finished our retreat and this is actually the first breathing spell since the end of April. I had expected to take up the matter of Pastor's appeal these coming days & Your Eminence's letter laid on my desk ready for serious consideration. For, I confess, when I first read it, I did not know at all what would be the proper and at the same time the most efficient way of appealing to the American Hierarchy. Yet I wished to have a clear, definite plan, which I intended to submit to your judgment before proceeding any further. Hence this delay. It was not caused by any indifference to the cause much less by any disregard of your wishes. It was rather too much solicitude and hesitancy.

But I am very glad that Bp. Muldoon is going to take charge of it. It will come with far better grace from Bp. Muldoon than it would come

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



from me, who stand before the public as a German, though I am Swiss. I shall write to Bp. Muldoon & offer any assistance I can give him.

I trust your Eminence will kindly pardon my neglect in acknowledging at once receipt of your communication.

With profound regards and kindest wishes for your continued welfare,

Very gratefully yours,

S. G. Messmer<sup>6</sup>

Ludwig von Pastor to James Cardinal Gibbons

Innsbruck

September 29, 1919.

Your Eminence,

Cardinal Bourne forwarded me Your Eminence's letter of August 5th. To my greatest pleasure I see from it that Your Eminence intends to help me in finishing my History of the Popes, although I have not the honour of being personally acquainted with you. The difficulties into which I am plunged as a consequence of the war, are so great that my History of the Popes will have to remain a fragment without help from abroad. Through your generous resolution to help me and to make a collection among the Catholic Hierarchy of America for the same purpose the danger will be averted. After many months of anxiety and worry I can now hopefully look into the future again. May God amply reward Your Eminence and the Bishops of America for all they are going to do for my History of the Popes. I shall pray for this.

I am especially pleased to think that the expected help is to come from America, for I have always entertained the greatest hopes that America will play an important part in the future of the Church. Europe has become old and feeble. A new epoch has begun in history and probably for the Catholic Church also. The late Pope Pius X. repeatedly assured me when I was discouraged and down-hearted at the enormity of my task, "You will finish the History of the Popes". I ascribe it to the intercession of this really holy Pope that in the most urgent need the necessary help will be afforded to me by two Eminences from America and England.

Begging you to accept beforehand my most heartfelt thanks and asking your blessing for me and my work.

I have the honour to be

Your Eminence's

Dr. L. Pastor

As the Post in Austria does not yet accept *recommanded* letters to America I send again my letter by a friend via England.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-K.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-J.

Francis Cardinal Bourne to James Cardinal Gibbons

Westminster  
October 12, 1919.

My dear Lord Cardinal:

I am indeed most grateful to Your Eminence and to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States for their very generous subscription towards Dr. Pastor's expenses. I have just safely received the cheque which you have so kindly enclosed.

I am, my dear Lord Cardinal,  
Your affectionate and devoted servant in Christ  
F. Card. Bourne  
Abp. of Westminster<sup>8</sup>

Ludwig von Pastor to James Cardinal Gibbons

Innsbruck  
October 28, 1919.

My Lord Cardinal,

To-day I received through His Eminence Cardinal Bourne the sum of the collection which Your Eminence had the kindness to make at the meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States. I hasten to express my most heart-felt thanks for this generous assistance to my difficult task. I shall also write separate [*sic*] letters to thank each of the subscribers, as soon as I can find out their addresses.

The lively interest that Your Eminence and the whole of the American episcopate condescends to show for my History of the Popes will be a new incitement to me to work with all my might to defend the Catholic Church by ascertaining the historical truth. That has always been my aim and will also be so in the future.

As soon as the English translation of my newest volume is finished, the first thing I shall do will be to humbly lay a copy at Your Eminence's feet.

Again thanking you for your exceeding kindness and with sentiments of the highest esteem,

I am, My Lord Cardinal's  
humble and obedient servant  
L. Pastor<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-M.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-Q.

James Cardinal Gibbons to Ludwig von Pastor

Baltimore

November 24, 1919, copy.

My dear Doctor Pastor:-

It was indeed a great comfort to me to be able to bring your name to the attention of my Brethren in the Episcopate, and thus help you in finishing your monumental work. Your work is of such an international character, that any effort to aid in its completion, might well be esteemed a privilege. I can only pray that Almighty God will give you the necessary strength to finish it. I look forward with pleasure to receiving your last volume.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

J. Card. Gibbons<sup>10</sup>

Ludwig von Pastor to James Cardinal Gibbons

Innsbruck

January 27, 1920.

Your Eminence,

Through Your Eminence's very kind lines of November 24th, 1919 I am greatly indebted to you and they gave me great pleasure.

Your Eminence's kind words "Your work is of such an international character, that any effort to aid in its completion might well be esteemed a privilege," encourages me to describe the new misfortune which threatens my History of the Popes.

From 1901 until the beginning of the war I was living in Rome as Director of the Austrian Historical Institute and consequently I had a part of my furniture and that part of my private library which especially refers to the History of the Popes in the rooms of the Institute at Rome, Via della Croce 74. The Italian Government in carrying out the Peace of St. Germain has sequestered everything that is in the Institute. Now a dispute has arisen as to who shall pay the rent of the house which is in arrear since October 1919. The Italian Government refuses to do so. The government in Vienna declares that "as the Institute is to be taken from us, we shall not pay the rent." Consequently the landlord of Via della Croce 74 has declared that, as the Institute has not been paid for, he will not hand over the furniture and the library of the Director Pastor before the rent from October 1919 until the end of March of this year amounting to *4000 lires equal to 560 dollars* has been paid. All my demonstrations in Vienna, that it is quite impossible that I as a private

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-V.

man can pay this high sum and that it is certainly not my duty to pay the rent of a State Institute out of my private means, have been rejected. This hard and unjust procedure can not only be explained by the financial embarrassment of the Government at Vienna, but also by the fact that the Socialists have all the most important offices in their hands. How they are disposed towards Catholics Your Eminence will see by the following: as here in Innsbruck there is a lack of houses, they wanted to take my study from me giving as a reason for doing so, "that Dr. Pastor writes the History of the Popes."

That this threatening loss of my private library which I have especially collected for the History of the Popes causes me sleepless nights you will quite well understand. I have already suffered a great deal through the war and through the constantly increasing dearness of the things, now my salary as Director of the Roman Institute falls away too, so that I am absolutely incapable of again obtaining my library by paying the sum of 4000 liras, which is equal to 75,000 Kr. in the present currency. To deduct the sum from the fund that Your Eminence raised for me with such kindness and liberality is quite impossible, as with this money I have to cover the expenses for my scientific assistants, the procuring of newly published books and my journeys to Italy.

So I am obliged to face the loss of my books in Rome, the books I have collected during forty years' work and among which there are very rare specimens, some of which are not even to be found in the Vatican library. My only hope is in Your Eminence's help. To show my gratitude I enclose the following declaration in consequence of which these books are to be given to the Archiepiscopal See of Baltimore after my death. It can then transfer them either to the Catholic University in Washington or to any other American institution.

If Your Eminence will be so kind as to send me the sum, I humbly beg you to send me help soon, for if the rent is not paid until the end of March, a new instalment will be due by which the sum will be doubled. To hinder this I should like to go to Rome at the end of February to redeem my private library and to convey it to Innsbruck after having paid the rent.

In the present state of affairs this letter will scarcely reach Your Eminence before the middle of February. May I then humbly beg you, if you are willing to help me, to kindly let me know it by wire here at Innsbruck. Please be so kind as to send the cheque to my old friend Pater Hofmann, S.J., Collegio Germanico, Via S. Nicola di Tolentino, Roma. It is most disagreeable for me to be obliged to have recourse to Your Eminence's

kindness again, but in my distress I did not know any other way. Be assured that I shall gratefully remember your kindness in my prayers.

Please accept the assurance of my deepest respect and gratitude

Your Eminence's  
humble and obedient servant  
Dr. L. Pastor

P.S. As one cannot register letters yet to America I am sending this letter in duplicate.

#### DECLARATION

The books collected for my History of the Popes that were in Rome until March 1920 and which have been saved for me by the liberality of his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons are to be given to the Archiepiscopal See of Baltimore after my death as a little token of gratitude.<sup>11</sup>

Albert E. Smith (Cardinal Gibbon's secretary) to John J. Burke, C.S.P.  
Baltimore  
February 20, 1920, copy.

My dear Father Burke:-

His Eminence is in receipt this day of a letter from Doctor Pastor, the well-known author of the History of the Popes. The substance of his letter is that his library which is the fruit of over 40 years of collecting, will be confiscated, if by the end of March he has not in hand \$560 due for rent. This is the second appeal of this gentleman to the Cardinal, and although something over \$2,000 was sent him lately for an entirely different purpose, his Eminence thinks this second appeal should be listened to. He directs me therefore to write and ask if there are any funds to be had from the War Council or the Welfare Council which could be turned over to him for this most worthy object. As the Cardinal must act promptly, he would thank you for an early reply to his request.

With best wishes,  
Sincerely in Christ,  
Albert E. Smith<sup>12</sup>

James Cardinal Gibbons to Pater Hofmann, S.J.  
Baltimore  
February 24, 1920, copy

Reverend and dear Father Hofmann:-

As requested by Doctor Pastor in a letter to me dated January 27th, 1920, I am forwarding to you this day the sum of \$560, which is for rent of

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-R.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 125-C.

the premises, Via della Croce, 74, occupied by Doctor Pastor as studio and library.

I have written to Doctor Pastor the above information, and trust he will be relieved from all further worry and trouble in the matter.

When you see Doctor Pastor will you be good enough to say to him how much I appreciate his offer of his books to the Catholic University at Washington.

With sentiments of esteem, I am,  
Faithfully yours in Christ,  
J. Card. Gibbons<sup>13</sup>

James Cardinal Gibbons to Ludwig von Pastor

Baltimore

February 24, 1920, copy.

My dear Doctor Pastor:-

I cabled you on Saturday last to the effect, that I had received your letter & help would be sent as requested.

I am now happy to write and say that in accordance with your wishes expressed in your letter of January 27, I am forwarding this day \$560 to the Reverend Pater Hofmann, S.J., Collegio Germanico, Via S. Nicola di Tolentino, Roma.

I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your gift to the Catholic University at Washington, through me of the books collected for your History of the Popes. Already known in this part of the world by your mounumental work, this gift on your part will insure for you a place in our prayers and affection.

With sentiments of esteem, I am,  
Faithfully yours in Christ,  
J. Card. Gibbons<sup>14</sup>

Ludwig von Pastor to James Cardinal Gibbons

Roma

April 10, 1920.

Your Eminence,

With the deepest gratitude I received Your Eminence's generous gift (\$560) to save my books in Rome. In the meantime something unexpected has happened. The Government at Vienna was quite at a loss to find a representative at the Vatican and at last they thought of me.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 125-F.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



I have accepted the position, although the conditions are very modest. I have not even a secretary and my salary is so small, that I do not know yet, if I shall be able to make ends meet with it. The Government at Vienna in naming me have been compelled to pay the owing rent, and so the danger of my precious books were in, has been averted. I hasten to acquaint Your Eminence with this fact. I leave it to Your Eminence to decide, if I shall return the sum, or if I may keep it under the condition that my books in Rome will fall to the Archiepiscopal See of Baltimore after my death.

Whatever Your Eminence's decision may be, I shall always remember Your Eminence with the deepest gratitude who so generously helped me in the time of greatest need.

With sentiments of the highest respect

I have the honour to be

Your Eminence's humble and grateful servant

L. Pastor<sup>15</sup>

James Cardinal Gibbons to Ludwig von Pastor

Baltimore

May 1, 1920, copy.

My dear Doctor Pastor:-

Your esteemed letter of Apr. 10th gave double satisfaction. Not only recd. my gift but that of Vienna Gov. Tene quod habes. I shall feel repaid when after your death Cath. U. Wash. is made richer by possession of your val. library. (Rough draft of this letter written on a small piece of paper by the cardinal's secretary).<sup>16</sup>

Ludwig von Pastor to James Cardinal Gibbons

Roma

November 1, 1920.

Your Eminence,

Will you allow me to give my thanks for your gracious gift which I will find very useful for my work. I am very glad if my books, which are now in Rome, will be later of use in America.

The favour Your Eminence has done me will be ever one of the most

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-D.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-P.

beautiful and dear remembrances of my life. In my prayers in the holy places of Rome I always remember Your Eminence.

Imploring the benediction of Your Eminence for my work

I am

Your Eminence

humble servant

L. Pastor<sup>17</sup>

Ludwig von Pastor to James Cardinal Gibbons

Roma

January 10, 1921.

Your Eminence.

Under [*sic*] the many catholics who also in Europe follow with anxiety and sorrow the illness of Your Eminence, is also the writer of this line which is full of gratitude to Your Eminence.

Repeatedly I pray to God for the health of Your Eminence and very great is my pleasure to day as better notices arrived. I will double my prayers that God gives Your Eminence complete restoration of your health.

With this wish I am always in greatest veneration Your Eminence

most grateful and humble

Dr. L. Pastor<sup>18</sup>

Thomas J. Shahan to Ludwig von Pastor

Washington

June 29, 1928, copy.

'Dear Baron Von Pastor:-

I have pleasure in sending you the enclosed draft of Six Hundred Dollars, representing some additional donations in your favor that have come to me since I made you my last remittance. I said then that I had fulfilled my promise to send you Seven Hundred Dollars annually for four years, and that whatever I could collect in the future would be voluntary donations from such friends as I could interest in your great and holy work. I thank God that I am able to send you the enclosed.<sup>19</sup> (In the remaining part of the letter Shahan asks Pastor to inquire concerning the exact provenance of the personal library of Pope Clement XI which had recently arrived at the University in about a hundred large boxes.)

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 130-F.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 132-J.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas J. Shahan Papers in the care of Bernard A. McKenna, Philadelphia.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

*Epistolario de Alvaro de Cordoba.* By JOSÉ MADDOZ, S.J. [Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, serie partristica. Vol. I.] (Madrid: Instituto Francisco Suarez. 1947. Pp. 301.)

For a number of years Father Madoz has been one of the best historians in Spain, bringing careful scientific scholarship to his study of early church history, especially of the Visigothic and Mozarabic periods. He has worked chiefly with the literary sources and has had the good fortune to bring some new materials to light. This is the second time he has made a new edition of a corpus of early correspondence. During the war he published the letters of St. Braulio, a seventh-century Bishop of Zaragoza, and friend of St. Isidore. More recently he has turned his attention to Paul Albar and has already published several special studies on him, and now we have a new edition of his correspondence. Albar was a devout layman of ninth-century Cordoba, and a friend of St. Eulogius and other martyrs of the 850's. Albar is not easy reading, nor is his personality attractive at first sight; but he was manly, wholehearted, loyal, and for his day learned, and it is, perhaps, in his writings that we can best study the culture of the Spanish Christians who in his century lived under Moslem rule. And those who study him with some care are likely to find that they become increasingly attracted to him.

In editing Albar's text Madoz has had at his disposal only the same tenth-century manuscript that Florez used in 1753. Yet though Florez was a real scholar, Madoz' new edition was worth doing: first, because Florez was unable to work directly from the manuscript but had to rely upon an imperfect transcript made for him, and then because he normalized not only the spelling but some of the grammar. So Madoz gives us a text we can rely on with more confidence; it does not differ greatly from Florez, yet does make a number of minor improvements. In addition to the revised text, Madoz has made an even greater contribution by carrying the study of Albar's sources as revealed in the letters considerably beyond the point where previous students had been able to take it. Newly identified citations are various, but Jerome and Vergil furnish the most. At the end of Speraíndeo's letter (Ep. VIII) Madoz, from another manuscript, gives a complete edition of his little treatise which had originally accompanied it, but which had become separated and more or less lost.

The notes to the text are full and rich, especially as regards the sources. Unfortunately, there is some carelessness about numbers (volume, chapter,

page) in references to editions of the fathers; checking through the first six epistles nine such errors were discovered, and similar typographical slips turn up elsewhere, as in "penitudine divinitatis" for "plenitudine" (p. 92).

The text is preceded by an introduction of eighty-six pages which is particularly good where it summarizes Madoz' work in editing and in the discovery of sources. The rest also is good, and adequate for a preface to a text, but its discussions and information are less complete than can be found elsewhere. The reviewer regrets that Father Madoz did not include in his edition the two letters prefixed to works of St. Eulogius; it is true they have a different MS tradition (in fact I have not discovered where any MS of them is to be found), but they are genuine Albar, and there is no reason for leaving them permanently isolated from the rest of his writings—their contents have a bearing on the discussion of rhetoric between Albar and John of Seville, and they have much human interest. And let us hope that Father Madoz goes on to supply us with editions of Albar's other works, the *Indiculus luminosus*, and especially the *Confessio* and *Vita Eugolii* which show the most attractive side of his personality.

CARLETON M. SAGE

*The Catholic University of America*

*Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140-1540.* By JEREMIAH F. O'SULLIVAN. (New York: Declan X. McMullen Co. 1947. Pp. ix, 137. \$2.00.)

Mr. O'Sullivan's monograph traces in interesting fashion the fortunes of the ten houses the Cistercians established in Wales and the three in Monmouthshire from their origins to their dissolution. Probably the most striking characteristic of the Welsh Cistercians was their nationalism, and in the non-national atmosphere of the Middle Ages and of the Catholic Church, the "Welsh Cistercian monks were not only nationality-conscious, but nationalistic as well." This the author attributes to the fact that the Welsh were usually resisting absorption by England and to the continuing force of tribalism. Just as the Welshman was inclined to identify the Benedictine monastery with Norman penetration, he accepted the Cistercians as the national religious order. And in this he would not have erred, for so important a factor did the Cistercian houses prove in bolstering Welsh national consciousness, that Edward III went to the length of trumping up the charge of laxity in his appeal to the Abbot of Cîteaux to approve the replacement by English monks of the Welsh monks in the strategically located Strata Marcella Monastery.

In other respects the Welsh Cistercians resembled those on the con-

tenant. In spite of the prohibition against exploiting manors as a source of income, they soon found themselves "enmeshed in the webs of manorialism, feudalism, and spiritualities." As justification for their efforts to increase the income from their temporalities and spiritualities, even their bitter critic, Giraldus Cambrensis, conceded that they might justly have pleaded poverty as well as the "heavy claims made on them through charity and their generosity to the poor." Incidentally, the income from spiritualities was greater than that from the manor, giving point to the covetousness with which lay lords looked upon the wealth of the Church.

The dissolution of the Welsh monasteries by Henry VIII was hardly a serious blow to the Church. They were no longer the vigorous, wholesome communities of earlier days. Their material ruination dated from the Glendower revolt early in the fifteenth century. Distinct, however, was their lack of spiritual elasticity, for they "seemed without the will to recover." That there were abuses as well as frequent prohibitions against them is clear, but the "evidence substantiating their observance is negligible." As a possible factor contributing to "their loss of the sense of the spiritual" the author proposes that, in view of their nationalistic interests, retrogression set in with the loss of Welsh independence. In fact, Mr. O'Sullivan suggests that their pristine fervor must early have been lost because of their readiness to accept the problems and ambitions of the Welsh as their own. The last page to a colorful and not inglorious history was not glorious—with the dissolution the abbot of every Welsh Cistercian abbey became a royal pensioner!

JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

*Pennsylvania State College*

*The Christian Churches of the East.* By DONALD ATTWATER. Volume II. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1948. Pp. xii, 290. \$4.00.)

The present volume represents a completely revised edition of an earlier work by the same author published in 1937 under the title *The Dissident Eastern Churches*. Like its predecessor this volume was "intended to be a handy guide to the organization and present status of those churches which are not in communion with the Holy See of Rome." The book is roughly divided into two parts. The first (Chapters II-VIII) deals with the non-heretical Christian churches of the Near East which followed Constantinople into schism; the second part (Chapter IX-XII) deals with the ancient heretical churches of the East, i.e., those which trace their origin as separate churches to the break brought on by the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies respectively. The volume is concluded with a very stimulating discussion of preliminaries before reunion between East and West can become a reality. In addition to this the book boasts a fairly

comprehensive bibliography, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms used in the various Eastern Churches which the novice in oriental matters will find very useful, a good index, and a statistical chart of the Dissident Eastern Churches. The value of the work is enhanced by the fact that it contains a number of interesting illustrations referring to the Christian East.

In the opinion of this reviewer this volume is far superior to the first. The extremely complicated story of the non-heretical bodies of the Eastern Dissident Churches is handled skillfully and presented in an interesting fashion. Perhaps, the American reader might find it a bit disappointing to discover that the author did not devote more space to the discussion of the Dissident Churches in China, Japan, and especially Alaska and the Aleutians Islands. Nor can this reviewer agree with the author's statement that Archbishop Ireland's refusal to recognize a married priest was the only or most fundamental cause of the schismatic movement among Catholic Ruthenians in the United States (p. 151, n. 14). The author's opinion that the Soviet government did not recognize the failure of the government-sponsored anti-God movement does not seem to agree with the conclusions reached by Professor Timasheff of Fordham University in his study, *Religion in Soviet Russia*. Repeatedly Mr. Attwater modifies the feminine "laura" with an adjective of the masculine gender. It is a pleasure to note that he categorically disagrees with those who attempt to discuss the various bodies of the Eastern Churches as one church. Let us hope that he will apply the same attitude when discussing the customs and practices of Catholics of the various Eastern Churches. The observations made by the author in the concluding chapter on reunion of the East should be made the subject of discussion and study in every seminary and in clerical circles. As the author justly remarks such discussions and studies could bear abundant fruit particularly in the United States.

All in all Mr. Attwater has contributed a most valuable volume to the English library on the Christian Near East, and we sincerely recommend it as an up-to-date, dependable, and interestingly written source of information to the beginner as well as to the advanced student of affairs in the Christian Near East.

STEPHEN C. GULOVICH

*Mnnhall, Pennsylvania*

*Le peuple serbe et son église sous la domination turque.* By LADISLAS HADROVICS. (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1947. Pp. 168.)

This brief volume, prepared under the auspices of the Institut d'Études Danubiennes, has as its purpose the "discovery of the repercussions and influences of the religious and ecclesiastical life on the formation of a



national and political sentiment among the Serbs in the period of the Serbian patriarchate." That Professor Hadrovics accomplishes this rather ambitious aim is more than doubtful. Nor, indeed, does the title appear to be justified.

For rather than studying the influence of the ecclesiastical upon the political or furnishing a history of the Serbian people between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the author contents himself in this work with a somewhat repetitious, and scarcely original, summary of Serbian Orthodoxy. The lack of theological study since the eleventh century in the Orthodox Church, although a fact of undisputed truth and significance, does not warrant the repetition given it in this work. The scope, then, of the book is considerably more limited than indicated by either its title or stated aim. For the former, "Serban Orthodoxy under Ottoman rule" might be suggested; for the latter, a "sketch of the Orthodox Church in Serbia: its theology, leaders, and nature." Yet another limitation must be noted: Hadrovics' study treats not the entire period of Turkish domination of Serbia, but only the century and a half following 1600. Why it was not extended at least to 1809 is not clear.

Perhaps a more serious defect than these discrepancies between title and scope, purpose and attainment, concerns the author's thesis, with the demonstration of which he appears to be satisfied. His theme may be briefly phrased as follows: although Orthodoxy in its spirit, theology, and organization was essentially a unity among all the Danubian and Balkan peoples, it was yet Orthodoxy itself which imparted to each state its true individuality. The seeming paradox contained in this hypothesis is, however, not resolved. The significance of the Orthodox Church as a positive factor which contributed to a uniquely Serbian nationality or nationalism is open to serious doubt; in this regard, the essentially secondary position of Orthodoxy as an element in Stephen's fourteenth-century empire should be noted.

However, in spite of these and other shortcomings of *Le peuple serbe et son église sous la domination turque*, it is of a certain unquestionable value on two accounts. First, the historiography of Danubian and Balkan Europe has remained, thus far, with pitifully few exceptions, wholly political; the religious, economic, and particularly social development of these peoples yet await similar treatment. It is to be hoped that Hadrovics' essay may help to emphasize the need for broader concepts in this field, for even as the work now stands, it assuredly goes beyond the conventional histories of Serbia. Secondly, the bibliography, although by no means exhaustive, since it contains only some eighty items, is signifi-

cant, particularly because of the generous inclusion of literary and local history sources.

In fine, then, this work must be considered as a first, short inroad into a new area, not as definitive, satisfying synthesis of the subject.

DONALD F. SHEA

*St. Joseph's College*  
*Collegeville, Indiana*

*Journey into Faith: the Anglican Life of John Henry Newman.* By  
ELEANOR RUGGLES. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1948. Pp. 336.  
\$4.00.)

Miss Ruggles has the happy faculty, common among many of the younger writers of today, of seizing upon a mass of biographical materials—letters, diaries, biographical accounts—and, then, of smoothly and persuasively transmuting the raw material into a fluent, colorful, sometimes dramatic narrative. There is close fidelity to sources, yet the original facts are so arranged, accented, and dramatized that the dry-as-dust nature of the old material is wholly shed, and the newly manipulated facts acquire a lustre, in fact the lustre of life. Four years ago, Miss Ruggles performed this trick very neatly with the life of Gerard Manley Hopkins. In both cases the subject comes to life by virtue of the author's skill in arranging her data, in evoking the mood of the period, in trying (not always successfully) to view the world through the eyes of the men with whom she is dealing.

The results, in both cases, are very agreeable for certain types of readers, for those who shrink from technical language, from the long paragraph, indeed, from the labor of critical thought. Thus the *avant-garde* admirers of Hopkins were disappointed in Miss Ruggles' achievement, inasmuch as she had failed adequately to interpret his poetry, or to realize to what extent Hopkins was not the dramatic figure which the author's technique required. In the case of Newman's Anglican life, the latter criticism may be maintained by many Newmanites. Until Newman was about forty years old, there was little in his life for a dramatic narrator; the crises of his career had been wholly inward, quiet, withdrawn. His letters, his journal, his other papers are rather lean fare for the hungry biographer. And so Miss Ruggles' *Journey into Faith* does little to rouse the reader until the last three chapters; the final one, however, is one of the best in Newman literature. On the whole, the narrative is admirably pursued and controlled. As one who has traversed her domain several times in my own studies, I can testify that she has maintained a high degree of factual accuracy even while employing the methods of the literary artist. It is possible, of course, to raise one's eyebrows at her momentarily uncritical

use of Francis Newman's brief and very biased account of his brother John Henry. The scholar will pause at Miss Ruggles' allusion to "the brilliant ceramics of the romantic poets. . . . Keats and Shelley" in the year 1827, which saw the publication of Keble's *Christian Year* (p. 102); the truth is that Keats and Shelley had their real vogue many years later, and were in no way competitors of John Keble. Miss Ruggles' allusion to Byron's vogue at that time is entirely sound. Like myself, Miss Ruggles alludes to Gladstone as "a successful barrister" (p. 239); an ambiguity in our sources deceived us both. The critical seeker after Newman's ideas and the great ideas which shaped him, will seek here largely in vain, for Miss Ruggles is primarily interested in Newman the man; she makes no attempt to interpret his thought, his poetry, his art. The only serious shortcoming of her book, I feel, is that we are given too little detail about the great doctrinal issues which filled his life and which eventually led him into the Roman Catholic Church. Yet this will hardly disturb that great army of Newmanites, who love him for what he was and is. They will be content to follow his story from February 21, 1801, to October 9, 1845. They will overlook Miss Ruggles' mis-dating of the composition of the *Essay on Development* (p. 314), as beginning in "January, 1845"—Ward's *Life of Newman* (I, 83) places it in the autumn of 1844. Readers of *Journey into Faith* will prefer to re-read the chapter on "Adventure in Sicily," and the one appropriately entitled "An End and a Beginning." And they may well wonder if Miss Ruggles should not write a second volume and bring the true drama of Newman's life to its termination.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

Ohio State University

*The Protestant Era.* By PAUL TILlich. Translated and with a Concluding Essay by James Luther Adams. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. xxix, 323. \$4.00.)

Professor Tillich is one of the more influential theologians of present day Protestantism. Reared in Germany, the son of a German pastor, he was also educated in Germany in the tradition of German philosophy and Protestant theology, and taught in German universities. During the days of the Weimar Republic he was active in Christian socialist circles. In 1933, after the coming to power of the Nazis, he took refuge in the United States. Here he has been teaching in Union Theological Seminary in New York City and is one of the most stimulating members of that notable faculty. He is a sensitive and gracious spirit whose charm and modesty add to the weight of his intellectual achievements.

The present volume is a series of essays, all of which have previously appeared over a span of twenty years either in German or English. Some

of them have been reworked for inclusion in this book. They are tied together by an introduction by the author and by an interpretative chapter by the translator.

Coming as he does out of the Germany of our era, having grown to manhood under liberal Protestantism, and then having experienced in his maturity the revolutions and strains of the post-1914 years, Dr. Tillich has felt to the full the tragedies of our age. He is poignantly aware of the fact that one age is passing and that another is struggling to be born. He is painfully cognizant of the gulf between the churches on the one hand, whether Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant, and the prevailing secular culture on the other. He believes that the age which is now passing is the Protestant era, and that its enormous vitality, its tremendous creativity, its ideas of tolerance, education, and democracy, and its free enterprise have arisen from an amalgam of Protestantism and humanism. Yet he sees the prevailing forms of Protestantism and humanism as having reached their limits. Bourgeois culture, as he defines the term *bougeois*, is now passing and with it, so he declares, Protestantism as we have known it. Yet he does not find the solution to mankind's crisis in the Catholic Church or the Catholic faith. He believes that the Catholic Church is also inadequate. He holds that the essential Protestant principle, "justification by faith," is eternal. He sees it as applicable to all realms of life. This Protestant principle entails what Dr. Tillich calls "theonomy," a culture in which "the ultimate meaning of existence shines through all finite forms of thought and actions." It focuses on "Kairos," the appearance of Jesus as the Christ, the center of history. It holds that "we are justified by grace alone, because in our relation to God we are dependent on God and on God alone, and in no way on ourselves." He believes that the Protestant principle appears in the "latent church," which is older and larger than the Christian churches. What we must hope for, so Dr. Tillich contends, is not a return to the Catholic era, but a profound transformation of religious and cultural Protestantism.

Here is not the place to give a critical appraisal of the convictions which Professor Tillich expresses. We can simply say that as one of the more prominent figures in current Protestantism, he must be taken into account by all who would seek to understand that multiform movement.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

*Yale University*

*Manual of Missionary Action.* By JOSEPH ETIENNE CHAMPAGNE, O.M.I.  
Translated by Roy L. Laberge. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.  
1948. Pp. 748. \$6.00.)

This manual is written by the professor of missiology in the University of Ottawa, whom the late Cardinal Villeneuve, in his preface to the work,

calls "one of the first specialists that Canada has given to the advancement of the missionary science." The English translation seems to have been published at the same time as the French original, but, probably because of the labor entailed in translating it and the smaller group of prospective readers, the price is \$1.00 more than the French edition.

The volume presents a handsome appearance, with clear, readable print and wide margins. Its arrangement is excellent and the matter is well divided and supplied with many suitable headings and sub-headings. Although there is no alphabetical index at the end, it is hardly missed because, besides the table of contents, which furnishes a general survey, there is at the beginning of each of the twenty-six chapters an analytical outline of what follows. After all but two of these outlines there are bibliographies ranging from two items to lists five and six pages long.

The author addresses his book to all priests and seminarians, secular and regular. His purpose is to help them become more competent co-operators in the missionary apostolate among unbelievers, and more zealous apostles among Protestants and other dissenters. The manual is divided into four parts: 1) Missionary achievements, their nature and extent in time and place; 2) Theological foundations of the missionary apostolate; 3) Missionary co-operation, and the missionary vocation; 4) The apostolate among Protestants.

The readers whom Father Champagne has especially in view are Canadians, hence he treats at greater length topics of Canadian interest. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that his treatment of missionary work in the United States is much too sketchy to satisfy us, the book should prove useful for priests and seminarians in our country as a companion to the booklets published by the Mission Academia.

It is unfortunate, to say the least, that the English version suffers from many blemishes. The translation, though generally smooth, frequently crops up with French constructions, e.g., "How these words of the Master are still true today!" (p. 387); and French words, where English words are waiting to be used, e.g., "sacerdoce" is frequently used for "priesthood," and "vulgarize" for "popularize." There are numerous misprints, due, no doubt, to haste in hurrying the book into publication. How else to explain: "Leo XII, in his Encyclical 'Sancta Dei Civitas' (December 3, 1880)" (p. 32), "Massis quidem multa" (p. 386), "intellectuel" (p. 703), to mention only a very few? Some of the mistakes are merely annoying, yet easily corrected by the reader. But as one reads on the uneasy suspicion grows, that numbers and statements cannot always be trusted. What is to be made of such a sentence as this: "Islam forms a solid bloc of 50,000 believers north of the Equator," (p. 175); or of the assertion that the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade in the United States was founded in 1924 (p. 482)? Another fault, from the standpoint of the English reader, is that proper names are frequently spelled in the French



fashion. Thus we meet Tonquin, Guadeloupe, Chang-toung, and Zanguebar.

This manual is excellent, despite the faults mentioned above, but it should be given a thorough overhauling; the author himself should correct the statements of fact, which the English reviser or proof-reader is not competent to deal with. It is regrettable that so many irritating mistakes should have been permitted to appear in a book of this kind which is otherwise attractive and instructive and answers so great a need.

JOHN P. GRAF

*St. Mary's Mission House  
Techny*

#### GENERAL HISTORY

*The History of the Persian Empire.* By A. T. OLMSTEAD. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. xix, 576. Plates LXX. \$10.00.)

Friends of the late Professor Olmstead may have heard him remark, as the writer did in Indianapolis in 1928 in the presence of James Henry Breasted: "Now Breasted has done the history of Egypt and I will do the history of the rest of the Ancient Near East." It sounded boastful to some, but with his *History of Assyria*, *History of Palestine and Syria*, and the present work, published posthumously, Olmstead came very near the accomplishment of what he had planned.

For the first time, in this work, all the historical sources, literary and non-literary, pictorial and written in a variety of languages, are brought together to construct a narrative of the period more complete than any ever written before. The author, we are sure, would have been the first to admit that this is not the final word on the subject since he hoped for and expected an increase in our knowledge of the period as new information should come to light. The seventy pages of plates, remarkably clear photographs, form a fairly complete collection of the important monumental sources for ancient Persian history. The book contains no new and startling contentions and advances no basic philosophic hypotheses. Olmstead rarely attempted that, for he was above all a worker, a master of research and minute detail. In the opinion of this reviewer, *The History of the Persian Empire* is his finest work and will be his greatest monument.

Some controversial points should be noted. Few specialists in the history of religion will be able to accept the point of view presented in Chapter XXXII, the same position taken in Olmstead's *Jesus in the Light of History* (1942). The marshalling of religious texts and documents, with no basis for interpretation beyond a staunch positivistic dogma, results in a wholly inadequate treatment of the subject. In this field, Olmstead



dealt with interpretations (in great part discredited and outmoded) as if they were facts, and he failed to arrive at a sound interpretation of the documents. He was no theologian, but he held firmly to the nineteenth-century dogma of historical positivism. Again, with reference to the problem of "king worship" or deification in the Greek world, Olmstead adopted without question the thesis defended by McEwan in *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship* (1934), completely rejecting the sound work done by Wilchen, Nock, Festugière, and others since Ferguson published his paper on "legalized absolutism."

American historical scholarship will sorely miss the great, kind heart, the tireless energy, and the indomitable determination of A. T. Olmstead.

THOMAS A. BRADY

*University of Missouri*

*The Indians of the Americas.* By JOHN COLLIER. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1947. Pp. xi, 326. \$3.75).

John Collier knows the American Indians. For years he has been interested in their welfare and, as United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he succeeded not only in aiding them materially, but in developing a new government policy toward them. In the present book he does not confine his interests to the North American Indians, but he also writes of the Indians elsewhere in the western hemisphere. The work is divided into four parts, comprising sixteen chapters: Part I gives a panoramic view of Indian prehistory beginning with their arrival on the American continent in the paleolithic age; parts II and III treat of the Indian records of Spain and of the United States, respectively; part IV reviews the methods currently employed in the Americas to meet the fundamental Indian problems. The author concludes by stating that in the triumph of the "group life" of the Indians rests their future as well as their power to benefit mankind.

*The Indians of the Americas* is a semi-popular account, spiced with brilliant observations, too often, perhaps, above the average reader for whom the book is obviously intended. This is especially true of obscure allusions to the "deathless inwardness of the Indian societies" (p. 182), the "cosmic efficacy of the human will" (p. 39), and other vague expressions that not infrequently enter the otherwise absorbing narrative. To the reader a simple and forthright statement would be more gratifying than these cautious and complicated phrases that often run into exuberance, but more often etch a pantheistic pattern.

The task undertaken by the author is an ambitious one: the history of the American Indians from paleolithic times to 1945 A.D. Wisely Collier treats only the major and more representative Indian societies, their way

of life, and particularly their fate under Spanish and American rule. His materials are old and well known. Besides secondary sources in social anthropology and archaeology, he relied very much on the works of William H. Prescott on Peru and Mexico. For, Collier hastens to inform his reader, a hundred years ago "Prescott knew, historically, nearly all that we know today—or even can know" (p. 48). Obviously, the emphasis he places on Prescott leaves no room for shading the prejudices of that writer, and this has resulted in a certain lop-sided approach which does not do justice to the Spanish rule in America. As in the case of Prescott, the author inclines heavily toward the *leyenda negra* as regards Spanish colonial policy. That he made no effort to substantiate the facts is quite apparent; nor did he exercise care in distinguishing between statements based on historical imagination and those based on evidence. As a result, a lack of specific documentation for many controversial points proves a real weakness in this book. A few examples at random will illustrate this fact.

Referring to Spain's authoritarian rule, the author categorically states that creoles, mestizos, and Indians were excluded from all but subordinate offices in both Church and State (p. 118). That this was not the universal practice is proved by the fact that in Mexico Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza was one of the first to advocate a trained native priesthood and to foster higher education for the Indians (Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza*, pp. 105-107). In 1572, Pablo Caltzontzin became the first native Mexican Catholic priest (Cuevas, *Historia de la Inglesia en México*, II, 77); in 1597 Alonso de Mota y Escobar, a creole, became Bishop of Nueva Galicia (*ibid.*, pp. 86-87). As for civil offices, a letter to Philip II by the Franciscan authorities in Mexico City stated that Indian graduates of the College of Santiago de Tlaltelolco in Mexico City held important positions in the *audiencia*. Others, they remarked, were judges, governors, etc., throughout the country. One of these, Antonio Valeriano, was governor [mayor] of Mexico City (Joaquín G. Icazbalceta, ed., *Códice Mendietta*, I, 178).

Allowing his enthusiasm for antiquities and for the ancient Indian cultures to dim his view, Collier repeats the oft-told tale that Juan de Zumárraga, the first Bishop of Mexico City, "gathered . . . thousands of [Aztec] books, often of exquisite, even radiant beauty . . . for a huge bonfire in the plaza of Mexico" (p. 79). Seventy years ago an outstanding Mexican historian disproved this myth, yet it continues to plague readers with its recurrence (Joaquín G. Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, pp. 305-371). The book also shows a lack of knowledge in other fields besides history. For example, the Catholic concept of the sacrifice of the Mass is misconstrued, while the author seemingly approves the human sacrificial rites of the Aztecs (p. 84).

In treating of the Indians north of the Rio Grande Mr. Collier's touch is more certain. He tells their story more accurately and with less irrele-

vant padding. But in general, the work is not a balanced study. The research is too scanty and the treatment too rapid to furnish a proper evaluation of the Indians and their relations with the white man. The format is pleasing, the illustrations are well chosen, and the index adequate though by no means complete. There are few footnotes. The bibliography is sufficient, but a few works cited in the text are not found in the bibliography. The end papers contain two excellent maps designating areas of Indian culture in North and South America.

Throughout the work there are evidences of hasty proof-reading and also a few misspellings. Garcilosa de la Vega (p. 48) should be Garcilaso de la Vega; Polo do Ondegardo (*ibid.*) should read Polo de Ondegardo. Often there is inconsistency in the spelling of a name, e.g., on page 48 is found Gieza de Leon, while on page 51 it becomes Cieza de Leon. Ovideo (p. 111) should read Oviedo, and Golanzo de Ovieda (p. 132) should read Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo; Messia (p. 136) should be Diego Mexía de Fernangil; audiencias (p. 138) should be audiencias; Martic Enriques (p. 142) should read Martín Enríquez; and Pedro de Castenado should be Pedro de Castañeda (p. 192). Inconsistency is also apparent in the matter of accenting Spanish words.

ARNOLD L. RODRIGUEZ

*Duns Scotus College*  
*Detroit*

*Princeton Portraits.* By DONALD DREW EGBERT. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. vii, 360. Plates 236. \$15.00.)

In celebrating its two hundredth year (1946), Princeton University authorized certain publications of which *Princeton Portraits* is one. Although it is not a pictorial history in the ordinary sense of that term, it is a remarkable collection of over 200 portraits, handsomely reproduced, all of which have to do with Princeton past and present. The editor, Donald Drew Egbert of the Museum of Historical Art at Princeton, assisted by Diane Martindell Lee, has sought "to make clearer the important part that representative Princetonians have played in the development of Princeton University in particular and of American life in general. . . ." In this he has succeeded, for among the founders, presidents, officers, trustees, alumni, friends, and benefactors appear many persons famous in the past two centuries of American history and a goodly number still living. Each portrait is accompanied by an excellent biographical sketch.

Included in this galaxy are two kings of England, William III "whose name is commemorated both in Nassau Hall and in the Princeton colors," and George II who granted two charters for the College of New Jersey, as the institution was then called. The "founders" also include Jonathan

Belcher, royal Governor of New Jersey. More than one signer of the Declaration of Independence can be found among these pages. Particularly prominent, especially during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, are Presbyterian ministers, for Princeton's association with American Presbyterianism has always been close. Though Jonathan Edwards served for only a few weeks as president, men like John Witherspoon and James McCosh and, more recently, John Grier Hibben, have made Princeton history. Moreover, if Woodrow Wilson was not himself a minister, both he and his first wife came from ministerial families.

The strength of Princeton's faculty over the years is also evident in these pages; and trustees and alumni number men active in various walks of life: Presidents Madison and Cleveland, Vice-President Burr, lawyers, politicians, and men of business. Something, too, of the widening interests of the university can be seen in the awarding of honorary degrees to George Whitefield in 1754 and Cardinal Mercier in 1919. Finally, "friends and benefactors" include Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. Of the latter there are several portraits, notably that by Charles Willson Peale depicting Washington at the Battle of Princeton.

A university collection necessarily includes works of varied artistic merit. But Princeton's collection, from which the reproductions in this book are taken, can boast of paintings by such men as Caspar Netscher, Charles Willson Peale, Gilbert Stuart, Rembrandt Peale, Thomas Sully, John Neagle, Samuel Lovett Waldo, Eastman Johnson, and John W. Alexander. Equally renowned are the sculptors: William Rush, Giuseppe Ceracchi, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Olin L. Warner, John Massey Rhind, Daniel Chester French, Herbert Adams, and Gutzon Borglum.

Handsomely printed, this volume should delight all Princeton men and, indeed, anyone with an interest in the development of American art and American university life.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

*New York University*

*The Second World War: The Gathering Storm.* By WINSTON CHURCHILL.  
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1948. Pp. xvi, 784. \$6.00.)

No one other than the author of these memoirs is at present so well equipped to hang "the chronicle and discussion of great [contemporary] military and political events upon the thread of the personal experiences of an individual." Perhaps the all-powerful dictator of the U.S.S.R. would be an exception, but Stalin could never make the events clear to an audience brought up to know the language of modern western civilization in its Anglo-American variant; nor could Stalin boast of a record of public service with "inside" information that antedates World War I.

This unique combination of Churchill's, the long experience in affairs of the British Empire and the masterful prose style, is providential for the education of the English-speaking world. If it could be as effective in the resulting lessons in statecraft as it is brilliant as entertainment that world might anticipate leadership in a broad counter-attack on totalitarianism which would be unbeatable; but, unfortunately, the lessons of history are more often learned too late, and never applied. Indeed, that is the theme of this volume: "How the English-speaking peoples through their unwisdom, carelessness, and good nature allowed the wicked to rearm."

It was Churchill's argument between two wars that, while the Germans were not fundamentally bad, they were nevertheless unreconciled to defeat, that it was, therefore, a mad policy which fostered a German military recovery while the consequence of defeat operated to furnish motives for vengeance, and that it was folly to await full German rearmament before coming to grips with Hitler. He was not a militarist, rather he was an economizer of force; he regrets that what could have been accomplished "by a rescript from Geneva in 1933" had to be done by a combination of power at enormous cost after 1939. In practical terms it has not yet been done, for the combination included more than the victors of 1919 and was effective in the defeat of Germany only at the price of extinguishing the eastern security belt which is vital to the maintenance of western civilization. Totalitarian militarism is still with us. If there is a main weakness in what Mr. Churchill has to tell us it is his insufficient tribute to the prewar security system of France in eastern Europe, which was as important to the defense of Europe as was that French army which he would have nourished and given heart while the grave-diggers of British policy were calling upon France to disarm. However, he is aware of the mistake made in the break-up of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire—as the biographer of his ancestor, Marlborough, he cannot fail to know the importance of Vienna and he seems to be aware of the discords introduced in that sector by the heady liquors of democracy and self-determination. He has the courage even to state boldly that a German monarchy would have operated to secure Europe against adventurous policy, for a monarchy is a vested interest which dislikes war if it knows not for sure that it can survive even a victory.

If Mr. Churchill were simply the historian of the period covered in this volume—the background and the war up to Hitler's invasion of the Low Countries—there would be more to say here about omissions, some few things to say about utilization of sources. He can hardly have used his own figures from the days when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Baldwin's government to support the statement that Britain contracted to pay the full sum of her borrowings from the United States in World War I. To be quite accurate it must be noted that by a lowering of interest rate and a lengthening of the time of payment there was a considerable



reduction in the total indebtedness by funding. This, however, affects not at all the argument that higher considerations of world financial stability made the British proposal of that time to cancel inter-allied debts a wise one. As to omissions, there is still a sense of discretion in the statesman-journalist which dictates the excision of supporting evidence where the historian might feel delighted to use it. However, there are few documents in historical literature as absorbing as is this valuable first-hand account by Britain's war-time prime minister.

JOHN T. FARRELL

*The Catholic University of America*

#### MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

*O Poder real em Portugal e as origens do absolutismo.* By EDUARDO D'OLIVEIRA FRANÇA. [Universidade de São Paulo, Boletim LXVIII, História da Civilização Antiga e Medieval, N° 6.] (São Paulo: Indústria Gráfica Cruzeiro do Sul, 1946. Pp. 362. Paper.)

This doctoral dissertation in mediaeval history from the University of São Paulo is a study on royal power in Portugal and the origins of Portuguese absolutism. During the years covered by the book—from the beginning of the eleventh to the end of the fifteenth centuries—what Portugal was to be in modern times is very clearly suggested. Actually the achievement of Portugal in the field of overseas expansion—a real achievement for European civilization, as Toynbee observed—was in a large measure made possible by the centralization of authority in the king. Without a strong monarchy the country, at a given moment in its history, would not have been able to marshal and use with the maximum effect the exiguous resources in manpower and in industrial productivity at its disposal. A great deal, of course, happened before this level of development was reached, and it is precisely with the background, so to speak, of the age of exploration that the author is definitely concerned. He makes the reader aware of how perilous at the beginning were Portugal's chances of survival, and how extraordinary it was that the country managed to do it so well. Everybody may know that Portugal began as a fief of the kingdom of Leon, but it may not be generally understood that the achievement of independence, far from being the result of a nationalistic movement, as some historians have interpreted it, was the work of a handful of determined warriors anxious to satisfy their own ambitions. Even Afonso Henriques, the real founder of Portugal, must be included in this galaxy of remarkable but ruthless individuals. Thanks to him, Alfonso VII of Leon at the celebrated Conference of Zamora (1143) was obliged to recognize the right of the Portuguese leader to the title of king. When the offer on the part of the astute monarch to become



the vassal of the Holy See was accepted by the Pope in or before 1179, a local fact acquired international sanction.

During the subsequent centuries the concept of royal power in the new kingdom developed out of the Romano-Gothic traditions of the Leonese monarchy influenced and moulded by local usages and customs and by canon law. Throughout the period of Dr. França's study centralization was achieved at the expense of the privileged classes. This phenomenon, to be sure, was not limited to Portugal, but the process was less difficult to carry out in Portugal because feudalism as such never existed there. By 1383, when a social revolution brought the house of Aviz to the throne, lawyers trained in Roman law were seconded by the bourgeoisie in demanding a regime of centralized authority. Portugal even then was well along on its way from an "agrarian" to a "commercial" monarchy. Thanks to the weight of these two classes, to which was added the influence of the Cistercian monks, the monarchy was able to break loose from the restrictions imposed on its power by the common law, the principal defenders of which were not the people but the nobility. Under these conditions the tendency toward centralization was accelerated during the reigns of the first sovereigns of the Aviz line. When finally the last of the serious protests of the landed nobility was overcome by King John II in 1483-1484, the power of the crown became absolute (though not irresponsible, as it did in the eighteenth century). It was under King John that Portugal came to be a modern nationalistic state, and it was thanks to him also that his successor, Emmanuel the Fortunate, was able in a real sense to get ahead so well in the business of overseas conquests.

All of these things Dr. França has pointed out or implied in a narrative that is carefully, even elegantly written, and with arguments that are well buttressed in fact. The bibliography is good. Some quotations from original sources are taken from reputable secondary works, but this is excusable inasmuch as not all books were available to the author in Brazil. A year of research in European libraries would have been of benefit to him, but Brazilian institutions of higher learning do not yet offer fellowships for this purpose. The dissertation was accepted "with distinction and praise." This reviewer applauds the verdict, and looks forward to the continued success of the author in a field of study which, except for Father Magne, has scarcely been cultivated in Brazil. Such works as Dr. França's will serve to call the attention of Brazilians to the fact that their history is part of the history of the West, and that Brazil, though it officially began only in 1500, extends through Portugal far into the past of Europe.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

*The Catholic University of America*

*Richard of Cornwall.* By N. DENHOLM-YOUNG. (New York: William Salloch Books. 1947. Pp. xvi, 187. \$3.75.)

Richard of Cornwall was a son of King John and younger brother of Henry III of England, and himself a leading figure of the thirteenth century. Made Earl of Cornwall in his youth, given at different times many landed estates and other sources of feudal revenue, by careful administration and good politics he became the richest man in England, able to make large loans to the king and various friends, always on the best security. At Henry's request he financed and administered a reform of the currency to the common profit of himself, the king, and the kingdom. And though he had no need to borrow from them, he was fairly favorable to the Jews, and at times had them under his protection. His good business judgment led him to refuse the Pope's offer of the crown of Sicily; but he was not unwilling to wear a crown, and the German kingdom seeming more practicable, by large gifts he won the votes of a majority of the electors and was duly crowned at Aachen in 1257. This was during the interregnum between Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs. Richard was never made emperor by the Pope, nor was he able to win recognition as king in central or eastern Germany; but he made several journeys in different years throughout the Rhineland, granting charters and holding one diet. However, he soon came to realize that only by military strength could he hope to make his royal authority effective, and this neither his character nor his resources made possible.

Even after his coronation he spent most of his time in England. He had a stronger character and better judgment than his brother, Henry III. At first inclined to independent and even hostile action with other barons against the crown, through most of his life he tried to stand somewhat aloof from parties, partly perhaps through pride, partly from a natural preference for diplomacy and mediation rather than open strife and warfare. He did not share in making the Provisions of Oxford, and during the revolt of Simon de Montfort he was definitely on the king's side. But except during the height of the civil war he had the confidence of the barons, while on his part King Henry came increasingly to rely on his advice in English affairs. Generally his influence was beneficent, and Henry would have avoided his worst troubles if he had accepted Richard's views in his foreign ventures.

Last year saw the publication not only of this volume but of Professor Powicke's *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* and it is interesting to read the two together. The scope is different. Powicke's work is a large-scale synthesis of political-constitutional history in which a special effort has been made to understand it as the result of the activities of real human beings in concrete circumstances; published on the eve of his

retirement after a lifetime of academic work, it allows itself breadth of treatment and rich generalizations and interpretations. The book of Mr. Denholm-Young, also an Oxford man, is rather a careful monograph on one of the leading personalities; it, too, presents the result of much study, but in the form of thoroughly documented research which prefers to keep close to the factual sources rather than venture many panoramic views. There is also some difference of tone. Except in the concluding pages Denholm-Young tends to be less sympathetic to the character and motives of all the men treated. Powicke, while freely pointing to their deficiencies, is anxious to see them as human beings with some share of average good qualities. There is more acid in Denholm-Young's ink and he is less inclined to benign interpretation. Though he prefers the royalist Thomas of Wykes' *Chronicle*, one wonders if some of the acid coloring does not come from Matthew Paris' hostility to Henry and Richard, and to the papacy (pp. 56 ff.).

The book is well produced, places the footnotes in their etymological place, and contains three plates and a map. The reviewer jotted very few question marks in the margin. However, a misprint on page 6 creates a "king of Laon," while the statement that the university of Oxford was "strongly baronial in sympathy" in 1264 is disproved by Powicke in a special appendix, (*op. cit.*, II, 784-787). It is an important addition to the literature on thirteenth-century England.

CARLETON M. SAGE

*The Catholic University of America*

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Rise of the Spanish American Empire.* By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA.  
(New York: Macmillan Co. 1947. Pp. xix, 408. \$5.00.)

Again Dr. de Madariaga comes forward with an interestingly provocative study. Not a man this time, but an institution, Spain's empire overseas, is his theme. However, as in the past, he brings to his task his wonted fine ability to analyze his countrymen and his country's efforts, to propose views and sidelights which the foreign observer and student might quite understandably overlook, and generally does. No reader will question in which direction his loyalty and sympathy lie; yet no one, on the other hand, will accuse him of a blind patriotism which refuses to recognize faults, failures, and unfortunate policies. He does not pass over cruelty and oppression, but he adduces ample evidence to prove that the Spanish empire was not simply and solely that, as the English and non-Spanish reader in general was long led to believe, nurtured as he was for centuries on the poisonous milk of the *legenda negra*.

Dr. de Madariaga's approach to his subject is not exactly what might

be thought to be the conventional one. He devotes little time to the administrative organization of Spain overseas and to that welter of institutions and officials connected therewith—viceroys and governors, the Council of the Indies, and the Casa de Contratación. Rather he centers attention on more intimate aspects of the empire. The inner workings of economic policies, with their repercussion on both metropolis and colony, form the materials for several very enlightening chapters. The analysis of the effects of American gold and silver on Spain's economic well-being receives fine treatment, something of which the general reader has been too often unaware, since Earl Hamilton's excellent monographic studies are not as well known as they deserve to be. Intellectual, literary, and artistic life is accorded well-merited extended treatment, and again not in the conventional fashion of listing the roster of colonial universities and a few of the outstanding writers with mention of their principal works. The author seeks to show the spirit that vivified this higher life in the Spanish Americas. The creole class is penetratingly analyzed. The treatment of relations with the natives tends to be somewhat apologetic in character, but such an attitude is, assuredly, not unjustified by the canons of historical truth. In this respect, and throughout, there are many telling comparisons with colonial policy and practice of other imperial nations, especially England, and it must be admitted that the Spaniards do not fare badly when the two sides of the picture are brought into proximity. The author has some splendid pages on the institution of the Inquisition. Particularly commendable is his insistence on the fact that the Inquisition is simply a Spanish manifestation of an age which was hardly known for its tolerance or for its kindness toward those in dissent.

Alongside some excellent pages on the Church there are, perhaps, too many which harp on the corruption of the clergy. No true scholar will deny the unfortunate existence of such conditions, but it might be questioned whether undue insistence creates the correct perspective. There is a bit too much complacency in taking the reports of men like Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa or like Gage, who recorded conditions in specific areas and later periods, and in leaving the reader with the impression that such untoward situations were run-of-the-mill throughout the span of the colonial centuries.

A companion volume to the present work is promised, which will concern itself with the fall of the Spanish American empire. Both are planned to serve as the necessary background for a study of Simón Bolívar, also to come. There is a wealth of fine information and a number of extremely valuable interpretations in this present work. At times the organization of

the material is somewhat disconcerting and puzzling. But, withal, Madariaga has made a worthwhile contribution to the literature on the other Americas, and we await his coming works with anticipation.

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

*Saint Louis University*

*Talleyrand*. By LOUIS MADELIN. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1948. Pp. 320. \$3.50.)

M. Madelin, author of the vivid *History of the French Revolution* and other studies of the same period, has written a really admirable, an almost ideal biography of that ambiguous prelate and sinister statesman who, consecrated bishop the year that the Bastille fell, lived long enough to enact a final piece of double-crossing, and bring in the monarchy of Louis-Philippe in 1830. The brilliant historian has been, on the whole, well served by his translator, Rosalie Feltenstein, although the latter, apparently ignorant of certain French political terminology, makes some odd slips, such as calling Talleyrand "Prince de Benevent," instead of Beneventum or Benevento, the "Brumaire," instead of the *coup d'état* of the 18th. Brumaire, and mentioning Danton, after August 10, as an "Executive Councilor," instead of a minister in the provisional government.

That Talleyrand would have turned out an unprincipled politician and a bad man in any case, and quite regardless of profession, is perfectly true, but the fact that he was an ordained priest of the Catholic Church makes his case peculiarly repellent. "They forced me to be a priest," he told a confidant, alluding to his noble family, to the old regime in general perhaps, "and they will repent it." "They" unquestionably did. There is a story, characteristic, even if apochryphal, that the Bishop of Autun called on King Louis XVI on the night of the fall of the Bastille with a complete blueprint for crushing the Revolution in its bud, but was informed that the king had gone to bed. Whereupon Talleyrand, with an extraordinary bitterness and cynicism, threw himself on the popular side, became the consecrator of a schismatic hierarchy, was excommunicated by Pius VI, and only retired to England, later the United States, because the revolutionary authorities discovered that he had been playing false with them all along. At a later date he suggested to Napoleon the extermination of all the Bourbons, and he was undoubtedly the instigator of the Duc d'Enghien's murder, though in his *Memoirs* he attempted to throw the whole blame upon Bonaparte (p. 109). It was not for nothing that Napoleon's step-daughter, Queen Hortense, frivolous and light, but a thoroughly "good" woman in the French sense of the word, said of the ex-Bishop of Autun: "That cripple makes me shudder."

There have been some severe but merited judgments on Talleyrand from notable contemporaries who, for all their vices, were either greater

or straighter men, equally egotistic, perhaps, but less base. "After who knows what treachery," writes Madelin, "Mirabeau bellowed: 'He would sell his soul for money, and quite right too, for he would be trading much for gold.'" Napoleon described him as "a silk stocking filled with mud," though the original expression is slightly more pungent, and he remarked at Saint Helena that if he had only "hung the pair of them" (Talleyrand and Fouché) he would have saved his throne. M. Madelin is at his best when he describes Talleyrand's end, and the singular stubbornness with which he delayed his public confession of errors until the last possible moment. He negotiated with God as if He were one of the allied powers in 1815. His actual confessor was the Abbé Dupanloup, later the famous and genial Bishop of Orleans. It appears that when the young priest was leaving the death chamber, the old man restrained him with an imperious gesture of the hand which was then raised in the episcopal benediction. . . . "Souvenez-vous, Monsieur l'abbé, que je suis évêque."

CUTHBERT WRIGHT

*Assumption College*  
*Worcester*

*The Aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars: The Concert of Europe. An Experiment.* By H. G. SCHENK. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. 228. \$5.00.)

A surprising amount of history is stored between the covers of this small volume of the Mannheim International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. It is, in short, an intellectual, economic, social, political, and diplomatic history of Europe in the decade after the Congress of Vienna. Opening with an excellent presentation of the intellectual and religious background of the Holy Alliance, it gives in detail the diplomatic moves by which Alexander of Russia endeavored to commit his fellow monarchs to the domestic and international observance of "the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace." The cynical attitude of several of the czar's fellow-monarchs is well portrayed, as are the significant changes made in the document originally proposed by Alexander.

The major part of the book is given to a detailed study of the social and economic conditions that prevailed in the major European countries or areas during the decade. This provides an admirable, and essential, background for the understanding of the course of international relations of the period, in which each nation followed, not Alexander's Christian principles, but a policy based on its own domestic political or economic needs. From this neglect of the Holy Alliance came international friction, and, by 1825, the disruption of the Concert of Europe.

This excellent work derives its chief interest from the obvious similarity between the post-Napoleonic period and our own post-war era. It is,



perhaps, a sad commentary on the degeneration of our times, and an ill-omen for our future, to note that, while the European diplomats failed in their attempt to maintain international harmony, they at least paid lip-service to the principles of religion, whereas the statesmen of the 1940's, out of respect to one of the great powers, have not even dared to invoke the name of God in their deliberations. Have not their deliberations, therefore, even less chance of success? It is indicative, too, of the profound changes that have occurred in the past century that, while in 1815 it was Russia which tried to impose religious guidance on other nations, in the 1940's it is Russia on whose account every evidence of religion is carefully banned from all international co-operative efforts.

Dr. Schenk's work will appeal primarily to the historian; the average reader will find the frequent and extensive quotations (in text as well as in footnotes) from the French, German, and Italian an inconvenience and a distraction. The documentation is thorough enough to satisfy the most exacting scholarship. Worthy of commendation, also, are the seventeen reproductions of well-chosen contemporary portraits and paintings.

JOSEPH H. BRADY

*Seton Hall College*

*England and Napoleon III: A Study of the Rise of a Utopian Dictator.*

By FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 183. \$2.50.)

By design or otherwise, Dr. Palm's publication of *England and Napoleon III* coincides with the centennial of Louis Napoleon's election to the presidency of the Second French Republic. The book, first of a series planned on the rise and fall of the Second Empire, treats Bonaparte's relations with England, 1848-1852. The author, who is a professor in the University of California (Berkeley), is a mature practitioner of history: a man who has learned to distinguish between the important and the unimportant. He is familiar to students of modern history for his monographs on sixteenth and seventeenth-century France and for his general surveys of European civilization.

Professor Palm calls his work "a documentary film." In brisk fashion he shows the intimate acquaintance of Louis Napoleon with the British mercantile and aristocratic classes (gained as result of four years' residence in the island), and Bonaparte's pose as defender of law and order against the threat of a red-flag republic. He stresses the pledges to the English that the Napoleonic name did not portend revision of the 1814-1815 settlements, and the president's defiance of opposition by the conservative Northern Courts. Dr. Palm is at his best in dealing with economic affairs, as in the chapter, "The Utopian Dictator." Less clear

is his portrayal of Napoleon III as a man somewhat lacking in color, the mere stepchild of good fortune.

In a "Bibliographical Note" the writer mentions his preliminary research abroad and lists a few of the more helpful sources. It is to be hoped that when completed the series will include a more lengthy catalogue of materials used. Neither in appendix nor footnotes is there any reference to the Beauharnais Archives at the Princeton University Library. Carton sixty of that collection contains five autographs of Napoleon to his widowed aunt, Augusta Amelia. Two date from 1837 and 1838, and the balance from 1849. In discussing the events of 1848-1849, Professor Palm fails to mention troubles in the Germanies. Yet in a letter of December 1, 1849, Bonaparte wrote, "I am quite concerned over German developments and know no reason for all those war preparations." On December 14 he added, "The news from Germany is much less reassuring than the news from here. Nevertheless, I hope that in time all will quiet down." This point will bear further investigation.

Three small errors were noted: the dates of Pius IX's pontificate should be corrected to 1846-1878 (p. 33), that of Gregory XVI to 1831-1846 (p. 36), and a newspaper date from 1939 to 1839 (p. 6, note 6). Dr. Palm writes easily and he adds sparkle to his prose by an acerb turn of phrase here and there. To cite just one example, he speaks of Bonaparte as "the third but not the third-rate Emperor Napoleon." All told, the book represents good craftsmanship. It should prove of value to anyone interested in the France of a century ago.

DUANE KOENIG

University of Miami

#### AMERICAN HISTORY

*The first frontier.* By R. V. COLEMAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xiii, 458. \$3.75.)

Mr. Coleman has been associated with Charles Scribner's Sons since 1911. He has helped in the production and distribution of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Dictionary of American History*, *Atlas of American History*, and *Album of American History*. He was managing editor of the last three projects. Considering *The first frontier* against that background it is immediately clear that Mr. Coleman is a much better editor than he is a narrator.

According to Coleman the work under review had its inception in the request of a friend for a book which would tell "why the first settlers came, what sort of people they were, how they made their livings, how they behaved, what they thought about." The reply was that no such

book existed, at least no readable one, and that Coleman would have to write it. I doubt if a good librarian would have given up so easily.

If such a book did not exist before the writing of *The first frontier* it is still non-existent. It may be only a matter of opinion, but I doubt if the question of his friend can be answered by any tale which omits the founding of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, the Carolinas, or Georgia. (Yet he has found space—Chapter I—for a sketch of Pueblo Indian culture which is left standing, entirely unrelated to the purpose of the book.)

The Spaniards are given some attention, the French a little less. A yellow-journal editor is once said to have remarked that people are interested in only three things: sex, blood, and money. That principle appears to govern the treatment of Spanish enterprises. However, it is made fairly clear that the Elizabethan seamen who looted Spanish holdings in the new world were more anti-Spanish than pro-gold. The basic difficulty of the author is that he tries to face up to what is actually an unreal dilemma: to stress what is important, i.e., meaningful, or to stress what is "interesting." Consequently sensation takes priority over significance throughout.

The volume has its merits. It is printed on slick paper (not a merit) and the author takes advantage of the opportunity to illustrate the work profusely with contemporary pictures and with many of the excellent maps of the *Atlas of American History*.

MARSHALL SMELSER

University of Notre Dame

*From Slavery to Freedom. A History of American Negroes.* By JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xv, 622, xlii. \$5.00. Text edition, \$3.75.)

John Hope Franklin, professor of history at North Carolina College, has produced in this volume a compact and comprehensive history of the Negro race in the United States. Seeking to portray the Negro's attempts at integration in American civilization, he is interested neither in the achievements of outstanding Negroes nor in apologetics for the race. Keeping his point always in view, he successfully weaves it into United States, Central, and South American, as well as Canadian history. Putting aside the dispute over the influence of the African heritage on the American Negro, he nevertheless opens his work with three effective chapters on the African background. From Africa through the Caribbean, Franklin traces the growth of slavery in the North American colonies favoring Woodson's theory of its development from indentured servitude. While a cheap labor force in the South, the North was more inclined to look on slaves as commodities of commerce, with New England Yankees growing wealthy on the triangular trade in rum, Negroes, and molasses.

The opposition in the period of the Revolution to the English-supported slave trade, like the early anti-slavery movements, was vitiated by the invention of the cotton gin and the emergence of the "Cotton Kingdom." Despite the technical closing of the African slave trade in 1808, the demands of the plantation system for an enlarged domestic and illegal African slave commerce tremendously increased the number of those in bondage. Slave revolts and disturbances were fairly common, but they resulted only in stricter control, fewer opportunities for the slaves, and the ascendancy of radical abolitionist groups. Although only one-fourth of the white southerners owned slaves, and less than six percent owned more than twenty, the political, economic, and social dominance of this planter aristocracy drew the entire section into the Civil War. Racial antagonism increased after the war in the North—because of white labor's fear of competition—and in the South because of Reconstruction practices. With the establishment of white supremacy, the ideological conflict between the "Old Guard, led by the conciliatory policies of Booker T. Washington and the young, more radical, generation of W. E. B. DuBois came to the fore in the 'Era of Philanthropy and Self-help.'" Urbanization, industrialization, the triumph of the DuBois philosophy, all coming by means of World War I, introduced the New Negro of the Harlem Renaissance. World War II, a ballot emancipated from one-party control, and New Deal support gave the American Negro his closest approach to the four freedoms and engendered the hope of becoming the archetype for international racial unity.

For Catholics, a minor correction, a slight distinction, and a few additions would complete this otherwise thorough work. John Ury of 1741 New York notoriety was neither a Catholic nor a priest. Christianity is divided between Catholic and non-Catholic elements; Franklin would have done well to make that distinction explicit rather than implicit. Mention of papal opposition to the slave trade, the foundation of the Oblate Sisters of Providence in 1829, and a treatment of colonial Florida and Louisiana are disappointingly absent. Balanced, readable, factual, interpretive, its excellent critical bibliography compensates for the lack of footnotes. An essential book for one interested in the Negro, it is also valuable for any historical student.

PETER E. HOGAN

*St. Joseph's Seminary*  
Washington, D. C.

*The South Old and New: A History, 1820-1947.* By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1947. Pp. xvi, 527. \$6.00.)

"I do not attempt to present here the contributions of the South to

the history of the United States. Instead, I propose to trace the development of those political and social traits which make the region between the Potomac and the Rio Grande a cultural province conscious of its identity. My narrative begins with the year 1820 . . . .About two-thirds of this book is devoted to the New South. The period since 1865 is emphasized because for the most part it has been neglected by historians. Another reason for concentrating here on the New South is to show that. . . it survives as a regional unity as distinct in many respects as was the Old South." Thus the writer sets forth his purpose. All in all he has turned out an excellent piece of objective writing in which he calmly interprets the mores and manners of a people who have suffered much from too many writers who have either burlesqued or misunderstood them or who have drenched them in the romantic odor of magnolias and decadence to the twittering of mocking birds.

The book is timely and important, especially in the light of the "revolt" of the South now gaining momentum in the political agitation sweeping the country. It ought to be a handbook for politicians both north and south of the Mason and Dixon Line who prefer facts to fiction for their political potpourri.

Chapter XXIV, "The Negro Contrast," merits careful reading by those who are disturbed by "the continued presence in the South of three-fourths of nearly thirteen million people whom the American majority insisted upon keeping in a separate caste." Too many crocodile tears are being shed among the mission-minded Catholic sentimentalists in the North and West over the South's treatment of the 'poor Negro'—without too much sympathetic attention toward the dispossessed of the earth in their neighboring slums. A study of this chapter by our Catholic writers and teachers will help them to a better understanding of the problem faced by people living "in almost 200 counties stretching from Virginia to Texas" in which there are still Negro majorities.

The problem of the Negro in labor is as complicated as is the problem of the Negro in politics. One must live, and to live one must have the opportunity of earning one's living—even in the sweat of his brow. There has been objection, sometimes violent, on the part of workers in the North to the Negro migration, for even in the northern industrial centers there is nothing organized labor fears more than a market glutted with cheap labor. On this problem as it presents itself in the South, Simkins writes:

The Negro unemployment problem was less a survival of the reactionary past than an adaption of that bygone age to the progressive tendencies of the twentieth century. Negroes were dismissed not because they were hated but because they stood in the way of white men deprived of employment by the industrial competition of modern life and improvements in machinery. . . . Socially minded employers felt obligated to give work to members of their own race, even when such discrimination involved inconveniences or

sacrifices. . . . With modern enlightenment a new occupational democracy began to invade Southern consciousness and replace the hereditary scorn for certain types of "nigger work". The Southern white discovered that almost any type of honest labor, however humble, could be dignified. It became acceptable for a white person to be a waiter, field laborer, barber, nurse, or even janitor, garbage carrier, or street cleaner; only bootblacks, domestic servants, and heavy laborers were the exceptions.

A bibliography of thirty-four pages is clearly arranged and the index is satisfactory.

JOSEPH L. O'BRIEN

*St. Patrick's Church*  
*Charleston, South Carolina*

*Francis Lieber: Nineteenth Century Liberal.* FRANK FREIDEL. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 445. \$4.50.)

What a thrilling adventure it must have been for Mr. Freidel to search out the material and the background for the biography of this conceited and meddlesome old bigot. The background is almost that of a novel: Waterloo, the Greek Revolution, the Civil War, the Reconstruction. By chance or officiousness, Lieber made contact with all the prominent people of his day: Niebuhr, de Tocqueville, Webster, Hayne, Longfellow, Lincoln, etc. To many he was just a pest. His conceit knew no restraint. He plagued Longfellow with his versifications ("effusions", Mr. Freidel calls them), and every president from Jackson to Grant with suggestions for running the government. Nothing was beyond his omniscience, nothing below his notice whether it was a plan for treaties to protect the Atlantic cable or protest against the use of the Indian head on the penny.

But with all his faults, Lieber had initiative and industry. He was the founder and editor of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, the author of many worthwhile texts in political science, a painstaking archivist. But his best work was in international law. From his instruction for treatment of prisoners of war, adopted by the army as General Order No. 100, came international conferences on the same and directly led to the Hague Court. No mean feat, and one to forgive Lieber's conceit and meddlesomeness.

What a pity that he was so ungrateful and a bigot. Ungrateful to South Carolina where he had been a professor for twenty years, all the while making no effort to make it his home. He sobbed for the flesh-pots of the North and decried slavery, but before he left South Carolina he resold his own slaves. Mr. Freidel does not gloss over the bigotry. For Lieber "The Roman Church is a transfer of the Roman Caesarism to an empire of



religious name of fictitious origin. It is the worst of Absolutisms, incompatible with Liberty."

Though not the most admirable character, Lieber's biography is worthwhile. Mr. Freidel has given a very comprehensive and readable story. There was a great mass of material to be used, and space probably demanded that certain phases be sketchy.

The author could hardly have written 400 pages about a man and not have developed some admiration for him, but one assumes this. Mr. Freidel sees Lieber's achievements and his failures, his good qualities and the small, mean elements in his character. The reviewer thinks this book an excellent example of objectivity.

RICHARD C. MADDEN

*St. Andrew's Church*  
*Myrtle Beach, South Carolina*

*Italian-American History. Volume I. By GIOVANNI ERMENEGILDO SCHIAVO. (New York: Vigo Press, 1947. Pp. 604, xxxv. \$10.00.)*

Mr. Schiavo has devoted many years of his life to the study of Italians in America and to their contribution to the economic, social, political, and cultural development of the United States. Besides many articles and pamphlets, he is the author of *The Italians in America before the Civil War* (1934), and of twelve editions of the *Italian-American Who's Who* which has appeared yearly since 1935. Therefore, by diligent and careful search and the most painstaking labor, the author has been able to collect from numerous sources an extraordinary amount of material on the subject.

The present volume contains the first three of a series of fifteen projected books on the history of Italians in America since Columbus' discovery. These three books are: (1) Italian music and musicians in America (pp. 23-214); (2) dictionary of musical biography (pp. 217-477); and (3) public officials (pp. 479-604). In a little more than seventy-five pages of the first book, Mr. Schiavo outlines the principal events and gives the names of the leading musicians from pre-colonial days to the establishment of the Metropolitan Opera House. More complete is the subsequent period in which the author brings the subject down to the contemporary teachers in music schools. Far more useful and important is the second book, the dictionary of musical biography, which Mr. Schiavo has compiled largely from other dictionaries of musical biography and from publications that are not readily available. Unfortunately, in these two books there is considerable repetition, since much of the information contained in the first book is repeated again in the dictionary under the name

of the musician. In a dictionary that includes many "big" and "small" names, it is difficult to explain the omission of such musical celebrities as Toscanini, Puccini, Mascagni, and Leoncavallo—all of whom performed in this country. In the first two chapters of the third book on public officials, the author outlines briefly the work of the pioneers and their descendants, including two chapters on colonial and federal officials and city and state officials. The succeeding chapters deal with such topics as the new immigration, the American political machine, and the Republicans and Democrats. The last four chapters on the present generation discuss high federal, state, and city officials, judges and prosecutors, legislators, and county and city officials.

Despite the accumulation of an extraordinary amount of names and facts, the first volume is a disappointment to this reviewer, because the author has failed to analyze and evaluate the over-all contribution made by various Italian groups and individuals to the greater appreciation and cultivation of music in the United States. In other words, it does not appear that Mr. Schiavo has sufficiently assimilated and evaluated the importance of the mass of information he has brought together. In the opinion of this reviewer, in a study on Italian-American history, it is not as important to know the names of all those who ever played a musical instrument as it is to know what collectively or individually they may or may not have contributed to the development of musical taste in the United States. Similarly, in the book on public officials, it is not as important to know the name of every obscure Italian office holder scattered in small hamlets all over the country as it is to know the positive or even negative contribution made by the Italians who have devoted themselves to public service. Therefore, Mr. Schiavo's first volume is not strictly speaking a study on "Italian American history," but rather a compilation of much useful information on the subject. If the volume was meant to be a reference work, then it would have added immeasurably to its usefulness had the author furnished a careful index of the many names and places mentioned in the text. As it is, except for the dictionary of musical biography, it will be difficult if not altogether impossible to find anything else mentioned in the volume. On the whole, however, Mr. Schiavo should be congratulated on his patient and diligent work on a subject that has not only been neglected but that is becoming increasingly more important as the Italian assumes a more important place in American life.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

*Columbia University*

## IBERO-AMERICAN HISTORY

*O trabalho forçado de indígenas nas lavouras de Nova-Espanha.* By ASTROGILDO RODRIGUES DE MELLO. [Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, Boletim LXIX, *História da Civilização Americana*, No. 3.] (São Paulo: Indústria Gráfica José Magalhães, Ltda., 1946. Pp. 177. Paper.)

When, as the result of the New Laws of 1542, Indian slavery along with the personal services of the Indians held in *encomienda* were abolished in New Spain, the necessity became apparent of providing the colonists with alternative solutions to the labor problem. Who would henceforth cultivate the fields, build the buildings, attend to the manifold material needs of a European society? The purpose of the crown had been to create a free market, where the Indians might hire themselves out at will and without compulsion, but the laws of 1542, and the supplementary legislation of 1549, though admirable in themselves, were hardly enough to achieve that end. The difficulty lay, at least in great part, with the Indians themselves, who were not yet moved to work unless obliged to; and it soon became clear that unless some coercion was exerted upon them, the structure of Mexican economic life would collapse.

It was partly to avert this danger that the authorities in Spain and Mexico developed a substitute system which, while safeguarding the juridical freedom of the Indians as vassals of the kingdom of Castile, forced them, nonetheless, to work under certain conditions and for determined wages. Under the *repartimiento forzoso* or *cuatequil*, as the system was called, a colonist could petition the viceroy for the services, provided the general good would thereby be served, of a definite number of Indians. If the viceroy approved, a *mandamiento* was thereupon issued, specifying the number of Indians to be released for the purposes enumerated. Such a *mandamiento* was carried out by the *jueces repartidores*, through the *alguaciles*, their delegates, who now went directly to the Indian pueblos, collected the Indians as authorized, and distributed them as ordered.

Quite apart from its cumbersomeness, the system led to abuses that seriously jeopardized the welfare of the Indians, and in 1601 the crown, at least on paper, put a stop to it. The *gañanes* or free Indian laborers were by then quite numerous, and the crown apparently thought that it might now be possible finally to achieve the ideal of an unfettered labor market. Efforts along this line were again doomed to failure, but the temper of the government was clear. To protect itself against the day when the full weight of the law would be felt, the agricultural class began to attract as many Indians as possible to farms and ranches. Since some coercion was still needed to retain the Indians, whose habits of work offered little guarantee for the routine of agriculture, the colonists, by

means of the equivalent of company stores and other advances on wages, adopted the expedient of holding the natives on the basis of debt peonage. This type of coercion, later sanctioned by the authorities, became well established during the eighteenth century, and from it developed the labor economy of the Mexican haciendas of the following century.

What we have just said is the substance of Professor Mello's latest book. His earlier one, as the reader may remember, *As Encomiendas e a politica colonial de Espanha*, appeared in the same series in 1943. It is true that he also touches upon forced labor under the Aztecs and on Indian slavery under the Spaniards, but the monograph is concerned primarily with the *repartimiento forzoso*, free labor, and debt peonage. All in all the author has done a creditable piece of work. He has added nothing that was not already known—he prepared the book exclusively from printed materials, notably the works of Silvio Zavala, Lewis Hanke, Lesley Byrd Simpson, and José María Ots Capdequí—yet he has contributed, even so, by summarizing so conveniently and intelligently what other scholars have done, to our ready information of a most important aspect of life in New Spain. Anyone who reads Professor Mello's study will no longer find it difficult to understand how Spain's most prosperous American colony developed and how, indeed, it hung together. "... the Spanish Empire," as Mr. Simpson once wrote, "was built upon the labor of the Indians." Snr. Mello, in his two books on New Spain, has borne out the truth of that assertion.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

*The Catholic University of America*

*Juárez and His Mexico.* By RALPH ROEDER. Two Volumes. (New York: Viking Press. 1947. Pp. ii, 763. \$10.00.)

The most prominent and publicized Mexican figure of the mid-nineteenth century was the full-blooded Zapotecan Indian, Pablo Benito Juárez (1806-1872). From the most insignificant beginnings, he rose to a career of law, then, public office which culminated in the presidency. He held the center stage during the War of Reform and the French intervention.

In another country, under different circumstances, Benito Juárez might have merited little consideration from history. But there swirled around this stolid figure, through all the years of his public office, the violent currents of State-Church conflict which has repeatedly torn Mexico through the entire national period. In most of this strife he was a participant on the side of the anti-clericals; in much of it he was a prime mover. As a relentless and successful anti-clerical whose aim was the stripping of the Mexican Church of its position and strength and the subjection of that Church to the arbitrary control of civil government, Juárez has

come to personify all things wonderful to those who, even in our day, share his objectives. For a long time we have needed a thorough and genuinely critical work in English on Juárez and the Mexico of his day. The Mexicans themselves have produced stacks of Juárez works in varying degrees of attack and defense. Until now most of the English-language treatment of Juárez has been of an incidental nature in general works on Mexican history, or at greater length (but still more or less incidental) in volumes which deal primarily with the Maximilian episode.

With the publication of these two volumes by Ralph Roeder, the need for a thorough and genuinely critical work in English on Juárez still remains! In fact, the need might be considered even more pressing now, precisely because Mr. Roeder has brought forth this work. The author has put much labor into these two volumes with their 760 odd pages of disturbingly small print. The publisher's blurb refers to "this seven-year labor of love," and both the labor and the love are patent in Mr. Roeder's work. The reader will find here more material on Juárez and more quotation from and about him than has appeared previously in English in a single work. He will, however, not be able to trace either statement or quotation, since there is no citation of source anywhere in the two volumes. A full and valuable bibliography is appended (II, 743-750) but the ordinary reader will need at least another seven years to make up for the author's lack of interest in the important matter of verifiability. It is almost inconceivable that a full-length treatment, posing as a dependable history of a controversial figure and period, would have completely ignored so fundamental a requirement.

Biographical history is frequently most sympathetic without destroying excellence from the viewpoint of history. Roeder's work is so nakedly worshipful and obsequious that it goes beyond ordinary partisanship. No panegyric pamphlet could have done more in subverting history to the demands of personal devotion. The examples of this are legion and the problem is one of selection. Describing Santa Anna's visit to Oaxaca in 1829, the author (p. 50) remarks that he was wined and dined in liberal circles, and a supper was given by a professor of the institute to honor the famous visitor. Santa Anna met Juárez on that occasion and Roeder reproaches him for not "recognizing him as the coming man of the country." The fact (which the author himself brings out) that Juárez, then only twenty-three, was a barefoot waiter at the affair would help to explain why even Santa Anna could not see what is everywhere so obvious to Mr. Roeder.

The job of always presenting the perfect picture of Juárez at times demands some careful looking in another direction. In 1860, during the War of Reform, the American navy seized two ships running arms into Vera Cruz for the Conservative armies. Roeder says that the "Conservatives dated the decline of their cause from the incident at Anton Lizardo.

They caught at any straw to account for it" (p. 222). Juárez himself in a letter dealing with the same incident and its importance saw no reason for the American aid being played down. Said Juárez, "if the North Americans had not captured the ships of Marín and made him prisoner, the place would have surrendered and the reaction certainly would have triumphed." This letter of Juárez is in several of the works listed in Roeder's bibliography (e.g., Planchet). The letter, plus other of Juárez' comments on American intervention, could not be quoted without destroying the exculpating defense which Roeder wishes to build for Juárez in spite of Juárez. His picture of Juárez battling his scruples before deciding to put into effect the expropriation of church property (p. 207) is another case in point. And so on *ad infinitum*.

When one comes to the matter of Mr. Roeder's treatment of the Church, it is clear that he has no comprehension of his subject. His ability in passing off the patronage question after independence as "a minor and debatable issue" (p. 44) is matched only by the feat of discussing Mexican domestic politics in the same period without once mentioning the York and Scottish Rite Masons. There is no intimation that Hidalgo (pp. 20-32) was anything but a perfectly normal Catholic priest. Roeder's own anti-clericalism, which is bared on every page, would make his hero, Juárez, seem like a hesitant moderate. Only once (pp. 80-82) in his long and dreary hammering away at the Church with all its works and pomps, does the author seem to recognize that the Church might conceivably do the right thing, if only as an exception to prove the rule. That was during Juárez' governorship of Oaxaca. But there is a catch to this uncommon praise—the Church in this instance is praiseworthy because temporarily Juárez worked with it and not against it. Not only does Roeder blame the Church for all of Mexico's ills (the Church gets blamed even for Santa Anna's defeat at Buena Vista) but early in his work he makes evident that in his mind it has no place in Mexican life. "It was manifest that, of all the liabilities under which the infant Republic labored, the greatest, because the most organic, was the existence of a huge, hard, impenetrable foreign body embedded in its very constitution . . ." (p. 44).

To marshal more of the frequent aberrations of this work would serve no purpose. The weaknesses are woven into its very fabric and cannot be appreciated until the whole is examined. Mr. Roeder reveals not only a violent dislike for the Catholic Church in Mexico but allows that dislike to ruin his entire story. There is no denying that the Church in Mexico in the nineteenth century had its faults and was in need of reform; there is no denying either that when attacked it clung tenaciously to non-essentials which it could have sacrificed without real loss. But the truth is not to be found by presuming that all the evil was on the side of the Church. The men who entered the lists against the Mexican Church, men like Juárez and the rest of the extreme anti-clericals, were not out to



"reform" that institution. There is every indication that they would have been very sad if the Church were healthy and entirely above reproach. But even then an excuse would have been found to despoil her. Juárez and his friends (including Mr. Roeder) rest their program of action on a simple proposition—liberals have rights but the Church has none, except those the liberals may see fit to give. It is a liberal doctrine historically but not philosophically. Within limits Juárez was a great figure. No purpose is served by distorting the picture. Certainly the concept of democracy is not embellished by defending in blind partisanship things which have no part with democracy.

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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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The failure of Catholic historians to explore the Catholic history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is very embarrassing in the current "cold war." All the diplomatic efforts of the Vatican in recent generations are receiving malicious interpretations and the efforts of the Holy See to protect persecuted minorities are being falsely presented. Perhaps clerical historians have better access to ecclesiastical archives, but since so much of this history has little to do with theological matters, Catholic laymen should be encouraged to go into the work. The frequently expressed notion that Catholic history has to wait a hundred years leaves a very important field of research unguarded.

The archives of the Convent of St. Ursula at Toledo, Ohio, contain a very interesting collection of printed circular letters written nearly seventy-five years ago from the various Ursuline communities of the world. The letters were begun at the suggestion of the Reverend F. Richardeau, chaplain of the Ursuline convent of Blois, and contain matters of interest concerning each community from which the individual letters were written. The purpose of the project was to foster uniformity in the various independent Ursuline communities and to prepare the way for a subsequent union into a larger community.

The *Report 1946-47* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association contains eight papers read in the English section and five in the French section of the annual meeting held at Montreal on September 16-17, 1947. A. McBriarty, C.S.S.R., read a paper on "The History of the Redemptorists in Western Canada," and the Abbé Honorius Provost, assistant archivist of the Seminary of Quebec, contributed an account of the documents in the archives of the seminary relating to the various curés of Montreal during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress* for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, has two appendices of special interest: the "Report of the Library of Congress Planning Committee" and a "Proposal for a National Bibliography and Bibliographical Control." The Planning Committee does not favor changing the name of the Library of Congress to the National Library, but it recommends the use of National Library as a sub-title on official publications and letter-heads, so that the Library will become more generally known as the National Library.

The Bureau of the Census has issued a very useful brochure entitled, *State Censuses. An Annotated Bibliography of Censuses of Population Taken after the Year 1790 by States and Territories of the United States*. It

was prepared by Henry J. Dubester, chief of Census Library Project of the Library of Congress. Copies can be secured for \$.20 from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

The National Archives Publication No. 48-12 is a *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery*. These records, amounting to 9000 cubic feet, have recently been transferred to the National Archives.

Department of State Publication 3148 is the *Second Report to Congress on the United States Foreign Aid Program* (Washington 25, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office. \$.35).

A section for social sciences has been created in the Division of Higher Education of the U. S. Office of Education. The unit will serve as a clearing house for information concerning teaching and research techniques in the several fields of the social sciences. Claude E. Hawley has been named associate chief for social sciences and will act also as specialist for political science. Jennings B. Sanders has been appointed specialist for history; Otis W. Freeman, specialist for geography; and J. Laurence Phalan, specialist for economics.

The annual conference of the History Teachers' Club of the University of Notre Dame was held July 2-4 at the University with nearly a hundred high school history teachers in attendance. While many interesting papers on the methods and problems of high school history teaching were read and discussed, the high point of the conference was a joint meeting between the teaching staff of the Department of History of the University and the visiting high school teachers on the deficiencies of the present high school graduate. The new president of the History Teachers' Club is the Reverend Joseph Swastek of St. Mary's Seminary, Orchard Lake, Michigan.

*The Role of Catholic Education in Fostering World Peace* is a doctoral dissertation presented in the Department of Education at the Catholic University of America by Sister M. Vincent Therese Tuohy, C.S.J. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, \$1.50). For a historical approach to the subject there is much matter on the efforts of the papacy for peace, as well as many bibliographical references to works dealing with the history of peace efforts. The usefulness of the thesis will by no means be limited to those whose primary interest is the education of children.

The annual volume for 1948 of student essays from Marygrove College, Detroit, is devoted this year to the story of youth. It is entitled *Generation to Generation. Youth in Every Age*. The thirteen essays which run from "Youth in the Ancient World" to "Contemporary Popes: Their

Message to Youth," show the same careful workmanship of earlier volumes in this series which began in 1940.

A new Catholic university is being established at Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais, Brazil. There are two other Catholic universities in Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro and in São Paulo, both founded in this decade.

The University of Liverpool is offering a new course under the direction of Professor G. Barraclough for the training of archivists. A diploma will be given after a year of study in the auxiliary sciences of history, the classification and preservation of records, and the administration of archives. The demand for properly-qualified archivists seems recently to have increased in England just as it has developed in the United States.

On April 13 five monks of Prinknash Abbey began a foundation amid the ruins of old Pluscarden Priory near Elgin in Scotland. The old thirteenth-century priory is largely in ruins. For the present one dormitory is habitable. The little group is busy preparing the building for a larger number of religious who will join them later.

*Studies in Medieval History* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1948. Price 30s) is a 504-page volume presented to F. M. Powicke by former students and some of his colleagues at Oxford. Sir Maurice Powicke retired in September, 1947, from the Regius Chair of Modern History in the University of Oxford that he had graced for nineteen years. He had previously held professorships at Belfast and Manchester. His bibliography, which reaches back to 1902, was compiled for the volume by Moses Tyson. The *mélange* is devoted to English history. Its twenty-seven articles, analysed in the table of contents, are remarkably interesting.

Plans are well advanced for an international historical congress in France in the late summer of 1949. M. Robert Fawtier has visited various scholarly centers in this country on behalf of the congress. Under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies he addressed an informal meeting of historians in Washington, D. C. He spent an afternoon at the Catholic University of America. His work on St. Catherine of Siena is soon to appear.

The Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas has published (Madrid, 1947) two fine volumes of *Nuevos estudios crítico-históricos acerca de Galicia* by the late Atanasio López, O.F.M. Father López, whose twenty-five page bibliography appears in the first volume, died in 1944, and his work was edited by Lino Gomez Canedo, O.F.M. The volumes are crammed with information on Galicia and Compostela.

James Patrick McGovern, a prominent lawyer of Washington, D. C., and a member of the A.C.H.A., has written a brief but informative article, "Strange Occurrences in Yugoslavia," which is in mimeographed form. Copies of the article can be secured by addressing Mr. McGovern at 720 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

*Bibliografia Missionaria*, Anno XI: 1947, has been published by Unione Missionaria del Clero in Italia, Via di Propaganda, Roma.

On the basis of H. Ch. Puech's report in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* for 1946, Father J. H. Crehan in the June issue of *Month* presents some critical notes on "New Origen Discoveries." Several hundred pages of papyrus, containing for the most part writings of Origen, were discovered at Toura, near Cairo, in 1941. Octave Guéraud is transcribing the texts. They include writings of Origen previously known only in Latin translation and one work of his that was quite unknown. There are also some Old Testament commentaries by Didymus the Blind that were hitherto unavailable.

M. R. P. McGuire, associate editor of the REVIEW, has been named a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange by President Truman. The commission was appointed primarily to assist the Department of State in working out a program of exchanges in accordance with the provisions of the Smith-Mundt Act.

George F. Donovan, president of Webster College, Webster Groves, Missouri, has been appointed chief of education and civilian administrator in American-occupied Germany.

The Reverend Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., has been named an instructor in Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America. Father Tibesar is completing his doctoral dissertation on the Franciscans in Peru.

The April issue of *Herders-Korrespondenz*, published in Freiburg, Germany, contains an analysis and appreciation of the articles of Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., on the history of American Catholicism which have appeared in recent years in the *Review of Politics* and the *Catholic Historical Review*. The article stresses particularly the essays on Americanism as providing a better understanding between Catholics in Europe and the United States by distinguishing between the real Americanism and the European notions of it.

Edward M. Hugh-Jones of Keble College, Oxford, was visiting professor of history in the summer session of the University of Notre Dame, where he lectured on nineteenth-century English history.

Anselm Biggs, O.S.B., has completed a dissertation at the Catholic University of America on Diego Gelmirez of Compostela and has been named professor of church history at Belmont Abbey, North Carolina.

Sister Maria Consuelo Aherne, S.S.J., whose dissertation at the Catholic University of America on the Spanish mystic, Valerius, is ready for press, has been appointed to teach history at the College of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

William Faherty, S.J., who has completed his dissertation at St. Louis University on papal pronouncements concerning woman's social and political position, is teaching at Regis College, Denver.

Daniel Reed and Clifford Reutter have been named instructors in history at St. Louis University.

W. Stanford Reid, a recent contributor to the REVIEW, has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor of history in McGill University, Montreal.

An informative note on the life and writings of the distinguished mediaevalist, Charles Petit-Dutaillis, who died in July, 1947, appears in the September, 1947, issue of *History*. His contributions to English mediaeval history are scarcely less important than his studies on France. A posthumous work on the French communes is being published.

Archbishop Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., papal nuncio in Eire since 1929, died on August 27 at the age of seventy-eight. A native of Dublin, educated in law in England, he came to America as a journalist and served as an associate editor of the *North American Review*. In 1896 he entered the Franciscans of the Commissariat of the Holy Land and was ordained to the priesthood in Rome in 1901. From 1913 to 1919 he taught mediaeval history at the Catholic University of America, where he gained a reputation as an unusually solid and inspiring lecturer. He contributed articles to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and published volumes on mediaeval religious life and thought. His first diplomatic work for the Holy See began in 1919. He was consecrated Titular Archbishop of Tiana in 1927. Before going to Eire he served as apostolic delegate to Malta.

Monsignor Henricus A. Poels, who taught Old Testament Scripture at the Catholic University of America from 1906 to 1910, died at Heerlen in the Netherlands on September 7 at the age of eighty. He achieved great distinction for his social work in his native land. A staunch opponent of the Nazis, he was obliged to seek refuge in Switzerland during the war.

The seventh centenary of Cologne cathedral was celebrated August



15-22, and the famous church, damaged in the war, was reconsecrated. This year likewise marks the 700th anniversary of the founding of a *studium generale* at Cologne by the Dominicans.

On June 7 a group of nearly 200 of Detroit's leading citizens assembled at a dinner at the Hotel Book-Cadillac to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the arrival in Detroit of Gabriel Richard, S.S., in 1798. Father Richard's fame as a figure in Michigan Catholic and secular history is, of course, too well known to readers of the REVIEW to recount here.

Ogdensburg, New York, celebrated the bicentennial of its founding on August 14, anticipating the actual anniversary which falls on November 21. François Picquet, S.S., coming by canoe from Lac des Deux-Montagnes near Montreal, disembarked at the conjunction of the Oswegatchie and the St. Lawrence Rivers on the feast of the Presentation, November 21, 1748. He named the site La Présentation, and decided to erect a mission outpost there. Returning in May, 1749, he built a mission house and fort around which he invited the Indians to settle. When the Indians burned his fort in 1750, he erected a permanent fortification garrisoned by thirty men. On May 25, 1752, Bishop de Pontbriand of Quebec administered baptism and confirmation there to 120 Iroquois—the first time that any bishop administered the sacraments within the confines of present New York State.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War Father Picquet was forced to abandon his mission, then occupied by the British who remained until 1796. The land surrounding the fort was deeded in 1792 to Samuel Ogden, whose agent, Nathan Ford, developed a new settlement there. In 1817 the settlement was incorporated as a village under the name of Ogdensburg. After the departure of Picquet in 1759 there was no priest at the settlement until 1829. From then on the Catholic population expanded so rapidly that Ogdensburg was made the seat of a new diocese in 1872.

The celebration of the bicentennial was marked by the arrival at Ogdensburg on Saturday, August 14, of Father Guy Desaulles, S.S., of the Petit Séminaire at Montreal, who made the journey down the St. Lawrence by birch-bark canoe. He was welcomed at Ogdensburg by Father Jacobs, S.J., an Iroquois priest, with a large delegation of Iroquois from the St. Regis Reservation. A Mass on Sunday, August 15, was celebrated by Father Desaulles at Notre Dame Church, which is situated on the exact site where Picquet said the first Mass in Ogdensburg. The Most Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart, fifth Bishop of Ogdensburg, presided at the Mass and addressed a public gathering on Monday. The international day observance on Tuesday was attended by Secretary of

Defense, James V. Forrestal, and by Brooke Claxton, Canadian Minister of Defense.

Among the publications marking the centennial of Wisconsin's statehood is *The Catholic Story of Wisconsin*, a brochure of thirty-four pages, written by Benjamin J. Blied. Father Blied is a professor of history in St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. He carries the story from the earliest explorations of the seventeenth century down to the present.

The joint annual meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Badger State Folklore Society, and the Wisconsin Genealogical Society was held on August 19-21, at St. Francis Seminary and Cardinal Stritch College in Milwaukee. Peter Leo Johnson of St. Francis welcomed the delegates on August 19 and at the same session Sister M. Eunice Hanousek, O.S.F., of Cardinal Stritch College read a paper on "The Educational Progress of the Sisters of St. Francis Assisi, 1849-1949." The joint meeting of the Societies this year was related to the centennial celebrations of the State of Wisconsin.

Sister M. Hieronymo O'Brien (1819-1898), pioneer nurse and welfare worker in Rochester, N. Y., won a unique place in the hearts of Rochesterians during the forty years which she spent among them. Already an experienced Emmitsburg Sister of Charity in 1857, she was appointed by Bishop John Timon, C.M., of Buffalo, to found Rochester's first hospital, St. Mary's. From 1863 on, St. Mary's, which had begun under great handicaps but had already attained to considerable efficiency, was put under contract by the United States Government to care for wounded soldiers. Although the hospital thus became almost a military reservation, Sister Hieronymo still remained its real commanding officer, shrewdly tempering the military discipline applied to those convalescents whom she had already rescued from the effects of military neglect. In 1870, when her superiors chose to transfer her to another assignment, a large inter-denominational committee of Rochester citizens petitioned the superiors to reconsider their act, and spare them this indispensable Samaritan. While the request was not granted, Sister Hieronymo of her own choice and in a wholly proper manner, soon left the Sisters of Charity and, at the invitation of Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of Rochester, entered his diocesan Sisters of St. Joseph. Before long she had embarked upon the second great enterprise of her career: the establishment and operation of a successful industrial home for girls.

The story of this talented and admirable woman has already been recounted in part by Father Frederick J. Zwierlein in his *Life and Times of Bishop McQuaid*. Mr. Gerald Kelly of the history department of Nazareth College, Rochester, has lately reviewed her life in a pamphlet

entitled *The Life of Mother Hieronymo*. The sketch incorporates some new biographical and anecdotal material.

*Documents:*

Relazione sul martirio del servo di Dio Fra Stefano Iglodi, O.F.M. Conv. (d. 1639). Bonaventura Morariu (*Miscellanea Francescana*, Vol. 48, Fasc. II-III).—Ordinances of the MESTA in New Spain, 1537. William H. Dusenberry (*Americas*, Jan.).—Valentin de Foronda's Memoir on the United States of North America, 1804. Ed. by José de Onís (*ibid.*).—Apuntes Ligeros sobre los Estados Unidos de la America Septentrional (Memoir by Valentin de Foronda, Philadelphia, March 13, 1804) (*ibid.*).—Philadelphia and the Revolution. Trans. by Jules A. Baisnée and John J. Meng (*Records of the Amer. Cath. Histor. Soc. of Philadelphia*, June).

## BRIEF NOTICES

ALDEN, JOHN RICHARD. *General Gage in America: Being Principally a History of His Role in the American Revolution*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 313. \$4.00.)

This is the first full length portrait of the British general who, after twenty years of soldiering in America during which he attained the rank of commander-in-chief, was called home to England on the eve of the American Revolution. Relying in large part on the Gage Papers in the William Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Dr. Alden portrays the personality of General Gage, his career, and his role in the Revolution; and he appends an evaluation of Gage as a civil official and soldier. This was no easy task, for Gage was a somewhat elusive character and a much misunderstood man—the scapegoat of political incompetents in London. As a military figure he did not rank among the great British generals, but he did give proof of military sense and acumen in as much as, almost alone, he realized the seriousness of the situation in the colonies, the magnitude of the problem if America should revolt, and the forces that would be necessary to subjugate so resolute a people. As Governor of Montreal, and later of Massachusetts, Gage failed to distinguish himself, for handicapped as he was by a soldier's outlook, he relied on stern measures and coercion and became the opponent of American democracy and prosperity. Any man who advocated the application of force to Massachusetts, and the use of mercenary troops to impose Britain's views on the colonists, failed utterly to understand America.

Nowhere does Dr. Alden become the apologist, although he is sympathetic to his subject. Some may object to his tendency to read definite motives into Gage's mind when evidence is inconclusive as well as his fondness for indulging in "probabilities." The colonial position on taxation is not presented as accurately as it might have been, and the same is true of colonial opposition to the Townshend Act. Moreover, the author disregards the latest findings on the "smuggling" of John Hancock. Dr. Alden has satisfied a long felt need of a thorough study of General Gage and his part in precipitating the Revolution, and the Louisiana State University Press has contributed to the success of the undertaking.

(CHARLES H. METZGER)

ANUARIO DE ESTUDIOS AMERICANOS. (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de la Universidad de Sevilla. 1944-1945. Tomo I-II. Pp xii, 843; xvi, 925.)

The School of Hispanic-American Studies of Seville was founded by a decree of the Ministry of National Education on November 10, 1942. Classes were opened in the beginning of the next year and it immediately extended its scope upon establishing the University of Santa María de la Rábida. In this place of true Franciscan simplicity students of Spanish American history will henceforth find the education and inspiration to continue the praiseworthy task of delving

into the archives of Seville in order to bring to light the documentary material needed to evaluate properly the work of discovery and christianization of the new world. The publications of this school have given encouragement to the seminars of historical research and the two volumes under review are an evident proof of serious scholarship and sound preparation.

The first volume, dedicated to the discovery of the new world, contains four studies by the well-known Americanists, Florentino Pérez Embid, Manuel Giménez Fernández, Antonio Rumeu de Armas, and Emiliano Jos. Professor Pérez Embid discusses in his article entitled, "El almirantazgo de Castilla hasta las capitulaciones de Santa Fe," (pp. 1-170) the foundation, historical evolution, rights, and privileges of the *almirantazgo* of Castille. The importance of this research is evident, for it is only through a serious study of this historical basis that a complete understanding can be reached as to the meaning of the title Admiral of the Ocean Sea given to Christopher Columbus.

Professor Giménez Fernández's "Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 referentes a las Indias" (pp. 173-332, appendices pp. 339-429) has caused something of a stir among historians because of his interpretation of the papal bulls of Alexander VI. No historian would deny that there are things in the political and religious conduct of King Ferdinand which cannot be condoned; but we do not believe there is substantial ground to call him anti-papal. The episcopacy in the new world was actually established through the king's co-operation, and it was his tenacious policy which gave rise to the *patronato de las Indias* which the king obtained canonically from the pope. This institution was especially intended for the assistance of the Church in the new world. For this reason historians have refused to share the viewpoint of Professor Giménez Fernández on the interpretation of the nature and purpose of the bulls. [Cf. C. Bayle, S.J., "Algo más sobre las Bulas Alejandrinas," *Razón y Fe*, CXXXIV (July-December, 1946), 226 ff.].

Of less importance are the two other articles, "Colón en Barcelona: . . ." (pp. 433-524) by Antonio Rumeu and "Investigaciones sobre la vida y obras iniciales de Don Fernando de Colón (427-698)" by Emiliano Jos. Both studies, however, shed new light on the reception given to Columbus in Barcelona by the Catholic kings after his return from the discovery of the new world and on the life and literary production of the son of Columbus, Don Fernando.

The great variety of the second volume will, no doubt, have a special attraction for the general reader. It embraces five articles dealing with the following topics: "El protector de los Indios," by Constantino Bayle, S.J., (pp. 1-180); "Los viajes de Julián Gutiérrez al Golfo de Uraba," by Antonio Matilla Tascón (pp. 181-264); "Influencia de los Dominicos en las leyes nuevas," by Luis A. Getino, O.P., (pp. 265-360); "La colonización danesa en las Islas Vírgenes," by Manuel Gutiérrez Arce (pp. 361-514), and "La avería en el comercio de Indias," by Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo (pp. 515-698). All these articles represent new contributions to their respective subjects and they are handled with accurate and scholarly precision. The two volumes close with short studies dealing with various topics with special reference to the factors which intervened in the civilization of the new world.

We congratulate the School of Hispanic-American Studies of Seville for this magnificent contribution to the field of Spanish American history and we hope

that their efforts will find historians on this continent who will make a proper use of the material offered to them in these two volumes of the *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*. (RODERICK A. MOLINA)

BAREA, ARTURO. *The Forging of a Rebel: An Autobiography*. Translated from the Spanish by Ilsa Barea. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1946. Pp. ix, 739. \$5.00.)

This is an autobiography in three volumes bound together as one. The first volume, "The Forge," treats of the author's childhood and youth in the slums of Madrid. In the second part, "The Track," Barea's experience as an army sergeant in the war against the Moors in the early 1920's is related. The third and last part of the book is concerned with the more recent Spanish Civil War. In this conflict Barea was a loyalist and his allegiance to his own side was absolute.

*The Forging of a Rebel* is too long and could have been shortened to advantage. It is unnecessarily marred, moreover, by lapses from good taste. The adolescent sexual experiences of the author (and some of his later experiences also) make dreary and monotonous reading for serious and adult readers and could well have been omitted. The book, however, is to all appearances an honest and informed one. The author is Spanish, presumably knows whereof he writes, and seems to labor under no illusions. The Spanish Civil War is described not as a struggle between fascism and democracy, but as a war between fascism on one side and an alliance of socialism, anarchism, and a smaller element of communism on the other. Barea does not spare his own side, for the murders, the massacres, and the execution of men by the loyalists on the mere suspicion of their being sympathetic to the Church or the wealthy are faithfully related.

The work as a whole furnishes a repelling picture of the corruption of Spanish business and industry. The general picture of the Church and the clergy that emerges from this work is not one that Catholics will welcome. It well may be that the author's relations with the Church and its priests were too limited to warrant this general impression. In all fairness, however, it would require a Spanish writer of broader contacts, perhaps, but of equal sincerity and honesty to furnish the larger and possibly more favorable picture.

The Spanish question does not lend itself to well-balanced and calm writing. This work is no exception to this statement. No book thus far published furnishes a completely satisfying explanation of recent Spanish history. *The Forging of a Rebel* does not pretend to do so. This is sufficient reason, however, why it can scarcely be neglected by those attempting to unravel this baffling historical question accurately termed elsewhere the "Spanish enigma."

(E. HAROLD SMITH)

BARRACLOUGH, GEOFFREY. *The Origins of Modern Germany*. rev. ed., (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Co. 1947. Pp. xi, 481. \$6.00.)

This concise history by an eminent mediaevalist and professor at the University of Liverpool is a commendable antidote for the hatred that in recent years has



poisoned most works on Germany. Under Professor Barraclough's objective scrutiny the thesis that Germany has been the aggressor for a thousand years fades into the realm of myth. Three-fourths of this book is a closely reasoned treatment of the mediaeval origins of the German problem. Few persons will quarrel with the author's conclusions on the disruptive effects for Germany of the wars of investiture, or with his exposition of the chain of events that gave rise to "the fantastic map of German particularism and the unlimited sovereignty of the princes, which were the curses of German history from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. . . ." (pp. 146-7). But his agreement with Thompson that the Wendish or Baltic Slavs were as much menaced by the nationalistic Poland of Boleslav III as by the Germans, and his endorsement of Lamprecht's celebrated dictum that "the colonization of the east was the greatest deed of the German people during the Middle Ages" (p. 258) will undoubtedly evoke protest. Likewise the charge that French designs upon the Rhine frontier were "the most potent cause of war and international instability throughout modern times" (p. 292) is sure to meet with bitter comment.

One may object that this work is sometimes repetitive, that it has no bibliography and relatively few footnotes, and that 400 years of modern history are telescoped into scarcely 100 pages. But such criticisms are really minor, for the work is not primarily for the historian. A more damaging objection is that the book apparently is based upon much greater familiarity with the literature of mediaeval than of modern German history. Still the layman will not detect this, for Professor Barraclough's masterly summary of trends since 1519 proceeds with arrowy certainty. It culminates with exceptional force in his indictment of the Entente for not aiding the German people in 1919 to reshape their society within the mould of social democracy (pp. 440 ff.).

(WILLIAM HARVEY MAEHL)

BESTOR, ARTHUR E., JR. (Ed.) *Education and Reform at New Harmony: Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1948. Pp. 285-417.)

This scholarly presentation of the correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot offers an intimate picture of New Harmony. The letters constitute the only continuous contemporary record of the genesis, culmination, and dissolution of Owen's social experiment as well as the scientific and educational programs connected with it. Historians have neglected these letters because Maclure's handwriting was too difficult to decipher. Hence the editor has made a positive contribution to the literature on New Harmony by the editing of the correspondence.

Through an Englishman, Robert Flower, Robert Owen bought the Rappite property at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1824. He came to America and by December, 1824, began a "Preliminary Society of New Harmony" as a three year period of transition from the old to his new type of society. This failed. Then he formed the New Harmony Community of Equality. Prosperity seemed imminent. On July 4, 1826, Owen made his Declaration of Mental Independence in which he condemned: 1) private property; 2) all religions; and 3) the

marriage bond. The attack on marriage provoked widespread condemnation, and within a year his experiment ceased.

This growth and decline at New Harmony is made known in the correspondence between Maclure and his trusted adviser and deputy, Madame Fretageot. Through her capable management, his threefold aim was achieved: education, scientific research, and publishing. The Owenite reform ceased but Maclure's program continues to the present.

In the epilogue, the editor states: "New Harmony was Madame Fretageot's monument as truly as it was Rapp's or Owen's or Maclure's." These letters indicate her vital role. Both historians and the general reading public will find the correspondence a fine insight into happiness at New Harmony.

(HENRY A. McCARTY)

BILL, ALFRED HOYT. *The Campaign of Princeton, 1776-1777*. (Princeton; Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 145. \$2.50.)

A decisive military campaign is not always the one which brings the war to an end. For the American Revolution it may be argued with some cogency that the Trenton-Princeton campaign of 1776-1777 was decisive, at least for the political fortunes of the Americans. The year 1776 appeared to be closing on a dismal series of defeats; only with difficulty had Washington managed to escape across the Delaware while Cornwallis' British and Hessian troops were swiftly restoring the crown's authority in New Jersey. Many patriots and virtually all the British leaders were convinced that by overrunning this state the rebellion could be crushed. At no time were patriot hopes lower than on the eve of Washington's daring raid on the Hessians billeted in the village of Trenton. Even this stunning victory won by 2,400 ill-armed but determined Americans early on Christmas morning might not have redressed the scales had Washington not retained the strategic initiative. His campaign after the second crossing of the Delaware was a small masterpiece, distinguished by the decision not to fight another battle at Trenton, thus avoiding Cornwallis in order to fall on the detached force at Princeton. Between Christmas, 1776, and January 4, 1777, the enemy, by these blows at his outposts, had been induced to give up the greater part of a conquest, deemed indispensable for political reasons, and to hasten pell-mell for a defence of his stores and treasure at New Brunswick. This sudden reversal of fortunes quickened the hearts of patriots and by reassuring them in adversity overcame the first great crisis of the Revolution.

The narrative of this campaign, together with an estimate of its political importance, is admirably related by Professor Bill. Not only have the details been marshalled with skill but the story has been enlivened by aspects of social history and numerous character sketches. Above all, the author writes with the verve and dispatch appropriate to his subject; such ably written military histories will do much to lay the ghost of "fife and drum history" and bring armies and warfare within the historical perspective. (WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN)

BROWN, STUART GERRY (Ed.) *We Hold These Truths: Documents of American Democracy*. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1948. Pp. vii, 429. \$2.00.)

The selections in this handy little volume each have an important political significance in the development of our Republic, making the whole a valuable addition to the reading material for a course in American history. That there is no justification for the title is obvious to anyone who tries to arrive at a set of truths clearly stated in all of the selections. What the editor holds as truth is no more than the inference that democracy, just counting noses, has *worked*; and by further inference the reader may hold that to stick to the counting of noses precludes the resort to "authoritarianism" in politics which would mean the end of democracy. Neither inference does justice to the profound thought of James Madison in No. X of the *Federalist* (pp. 68-75) which justifies a constitutional division of powers as a secure method of controlling numbers in elections; both inferences point to a system of effective majorities by which the people ratify programs for politicians to administer in their own sweet way between elections. Nevertheless it is a benign whimsy which affords us a reprint in one volume of such otherwise relevant pieces as, Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Frontier in American History," John C. Calhoun's "Speech on the Slavery Question," and the "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Adams on Natural Aristocracy." The index is very good. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

BRUWAENE, MARTIN VANDEN. *Etudes sur Cicéron*. (Bruxelles: L'Edition Universelle, S.A. 1946. Pp. 110. 50 frs.)

This little book published in 1946 contains four essays on the following subjects: the Dowry of Terentia; the Edicts and Cicero's Doctrine of *ius est aequale legis*; the Idea of the Prince in Cicero; Demosthenes and Cicero. The first three studies are somewhat technical, but the last, a comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes as men and as orators, is more popular in tone. The author, who is a professor at the Institut Saint-Louis in Brussels, has added nothing essentially new in these essays, but he has written with competence, and his personal approach and lively style make them very pleasant reading.

(MARTIN R. P. McGUIRE)

ENNIS, THOMAS E. *Eastern Asia*. (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co. Pp. x, 627. 1948. \$5.00.)

This elaborate survey has the appearance of a compendium of lecture notes. As such it has everything explained without offering the reader much in the way of a literary exposition of the facts. It is thoroughly up to date but it lacks unity, resembling nothing so much as yesterday's newspaper. If used in a course on relations with the Far East it should be proof against topical omission, but to do justice to the book's scope would require many hours of reading in the works listed in the long bibliography—which is the most useful contribution to be found between its covers. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

FRIES, ADELAIDE L. (Ed.). *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Volume VII, 1809-1822. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1947. Pp. X, 3021-3612.)

The years from 1809 to 1822 proved to be an important period in the history of the development of the Moravian Church in North Carolina. It included the strained relations with England during the War of 1812. Part I of this book includes the fascinating diary of the Reverend Ludwig David von Schweinitz in which he described a voyage across the Atlantic amidst all the dangers of the first years of the war. He wrote in great detail about pirates, privateers, and the natural dangers of voyages in the early eighteenth century. His journal also gives fine insights into the life of his church in Europe and America. The remainder of Part I of this book is given over to a history of Salem, North Carolina, from 1766 to 1816.

The main body of the volume comprises translations of memorabilia, diaries, and minute books for the years 1809 to 1822, which are included among the possessions of the Moravian Archives. Dr. Fries has given an admirable translation, preserving detail faithfully without a cumbersome style. Part III includes translations of miscellaneous archive papers of this period. Something of the wealth of detailed material included in this book becomes evident in a glance at the thirty-five double-column index pages. There are twelve full enamel-page illustrations of leading Moravians and their settlements.

During these years the Moravians in North Carolina developed their schools, their missions to the Cherokee Indians, and largely expanded their property holdings. In their church polity they abandoned the use of the *lot* in many matters, restricted the employment of slaves, and actually developed an evangelistic program among Negroes. This book fills an important place in supplying source materials for the study of religion in the United States.

(RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT)

GOGGIN, SISTER THOMAS AQUINAS. *The Times of Saint Gregory of Nyssa as reflected in the Letters and the Contra Eunomium*. [Catholic University of America: Patristic Studies, Vol. LXXIX.], (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1947. Pp. xxiv, 217. \$2.50.)

The Patristic Studies of the Catholic University of America contain six previous studies of the "Life and Times" variety. Each one strives to recreate the environment of one of the church fathers by a careful collection and minute analysis of all his references to the incidental affairs of daily life. Sister Thomas Aquinas, following the pattern of the previous volumes, has arranged her material under four main headings; economic and professional life, social and political life, intellectual life, and Christian society. Some subdivisions provide very interesting sidelights on daily life in the interior of Asia Minor in the fourth century: stenography and copyists, pilgrimages, amusements, and sports. Others have a certain importance for the general history of the Church: interference by the State in Church affairs, relations of Christians with heretics and unbelievers, the method of choosing a bishop, the observance of

Christian holydays and festivals, and the veneration of martyrs. Many of the sections have slight positive value: climate and weather, the soil and its products, the sea, animals, geography and mathematics. However, the author recognizes this limitation as well as another weakness inherent in such concentrated studies: that to be really informative and completely reliable, they would have to rest upon a much wider range of contemporary texts. Nevertheless, this type of investigation is a necessary preliminary to wider studies, and this portion of St. Gregory's works has been very thoroughly explored by Sister Thomas Aquinas. (FRANCIS GLIMM)

GRAHAM, MALBONE W. *American Diplomacy in the International Community*. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1946.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 279. \$3.25.)

From the Continental Congress to the United Nations would be an apt subtitle to this thought-provoking and scholarly review of idealism in our diplomatic history. The only serious gap in the story is the segment of post-Civil War activity which is only briefly referred to in the introduction (p. xi), a segment which would include "the matters of minority guarantees after the Congress of Berlin, our interest in the handling of Morocco in 1880, our deep preoccupation with the partition of Africa in 1884-6 . . . the Samoan question [and] our solicitude for 'oppressed nationalities' in the succeeding decade. . . ." As for the period before World War I, when the United States participated in the movement for juridical and arbitral institutions for the control of war, Mr. Graham dismisses it as mere "adulation of judicial settlement," unworthy of notice by those committed to the singular effectiveness of collective security. The reader may look elsewhere for the record of the work of such figures as John Bassett Moore, George Grafton Wilson, and Elihu Root; the fact that they were not idealists after the pattern of Woodrow Wilson excludes them from consideration here.

Mr. Graham mixes his advocacy of policy with a measure of sound historical exposition. The result is a series of chapters remarkable for tendentious reasoning along with occasional footnotes or appendices which furnish us with helpful elaborations of facts. Particularly commendable is Appendix I on the sources of the 1776 'Plan of Treaties.' For this item alone the work deserves an honored place in the library of our diplomatic history. Likewise significant is the documentation of the development of Wilson's thinking on the famous fourteen points and on world organization to keep the peace. Still, and with all due respect to the sincerity of Mr. Graham and of Woodrow Wilson, there is in this phase of the search for a "consensus as to the nature of the world and our place in it," too much reliance upon the public statements of world leaders, and not enough willingness to see in policy-making the underlying realities of power relationships. Perhaps, it was a proper regard for this baser element in diplomatic history which made the other volumes of Albert Shaw Lectures so much more instructive than this one. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

HELSELTINE, WILLIAM B. *The Rise and Fall of Third Parties. From Anti-Masonry to Wallace.* (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1948. Pp. 119. Cloth \$2.50. Paper \$1.50.)

At a time when radical elements outside of our two major political parties are attempting to gain national recognition, leadership, and even government control, Professor Hesselstine of the University of Wisconsin has presented a brief volume, written for easy consumption, on the history of third parties. With a scholarly style and fine supporting bibliography, he traces American third party movements to the present. He believes that the founders of these groups, by absorbing the experiences of the past, might find more comfort if they would accept the achievements of the third parties of the nineteenth century instead of attempting something new.

Successful third parties must be well-grounded locally, surmounting the financial and legal barriers while offering a program and policy which would include the basic ingredients of any genuine liberal program: opposition to the police state, insistence upon complete social responsibility, and enjoyment of civil liberty. The urban progressive must be united with the radical agrarian in order that a third party can be well founded.

The author's criticism of the New Deal savors of political propaganda. He minimizes its achievements and then proceeds to erase it from the reader's mind by his vindication of the Republicans of the 1920's. The failure of the program, he believes, was due to its being primarily a political movement and the departure from fundamental concepts of the American tradition. A denouncement of the New Deal's failure to produce sixty million jobs after World War II is an actuality missed by the author. The ultimate disintegration of the Wallace party the author deduces from an analysis of other disgruntled groups to which it can be compared.

The writer eventually leaves the reader with the feeling that the only real hope for a good third party rests in Republican Progressivism. This feeling impresses one with the Republican character of the book. (GILBERT C. SNOW)

JOHNSON, F. ERNEST (Ed.). *Wellsprings of the American Spirit.* [Religion and Civilization Series, published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies]. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1948. Pp. ix, 241. \$2.50.)

A series of addresses at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America to the Institute for Religious and Social Studies (1946), the present volume contains some history, but it is devoted mostly to the interpretation of "the various forms of expression in which the American people have undertaken in characteristic ways to make explicit the values of the democratic tradition." There is some attempt, therefore, to penetrate the backgrounds of the contemporary American scene and to evaluate the status of our country today. In many of the lectures, however, one may detect a note of uncertainty and even of bewilderment in the face of post-war America, a hesitancy in advancing any very positive program for the future. Manifest, too, is the atmosphere of religious indifference, even to the extent of thanking God that America is not united by a "common and



shared faith" (p. 122)! Some lecturers likewise offer only a brief for their own philosophy of life.

While some papers are dated and of no lasting value, others are rather outstanding contributions to a philosophy of American history and culture, e.g., "The Puritan Tradition," by H. W. Schneider and "The Spirit of American Literature," by O. Shepard. Only one Catholic is included in the group, Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., "The Religion of the Founding Fathers." It is to be regretted that another Catholic lecturer failed to make his paper, "The Ideal of Religious Liberty—A Catholic View," available for publication. On the whole, a Catholic would gather from this work that the Church has contributed little to the American spirit. (IGNATIUS BRADY)

MAURIAC, FRANÇOIS. *Saint Margaret of Cortona*. Translated from the French by Bernard Frechtman. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1948. Pp. xii, 231. \$3.00.)

Mauriac labels this brief biography of a thirteenth-century Magdalene "the history of a soul." He excuses his lack of historical research into the period when Margaret lived by the statement that "as is a mystic of our own day, Margaret was a contemporary of Christ." It might also be remarked, if one would be unkind, that the meagerness of factual data gives Mauriac a great deal more opportunity to philosophize.

Margaret's life covered the fifty years from 1247 to 1297. She was born in a village of Umbria in Italy. At nine she acquired a stepmother who resented and disliked the child. To compensate for this lack of love, Margaret, still in her teens, became the mistress of a young nobleman in the area. She lived with him for nine years and bore him a son. His brutal murder turned her to her real Love. She fled from the scene of her sin and sought refuge in the monastery at Celle. There the prior turned her away with the words which were to haunt her throughout her life: "My daughter, you are too young and too pretty." She went then to Cortona where she was eventually received into the Third Order of St. Francis and where she spent the next twenty years of her life in fearful penance but in communion with her Lord. Margaret inflicted great suffering on her body to compensate for its sin and to conquer her beauty, and, though she reached the highest mystical state, she was unrelenting in her warfare.

From a literary standpoint, Mauriac's work is completely praiseworthy. But in a book of this type, one cannot be concerned only with the technique; it involves religious problems of much greater import. It is here that Mauriac goes astray. Without questioning the depth of his own Catholicity, one cannot help wondering at his presumptuousness. At some points, he comes dangerously near to being one of the Pharisees he so roundly condemns. He has decided that the one reference he does use for the life of Margaret, the notes of her confessor, are perverted by the good monk so he has set himself up "to penetrate through the commentator." He then proceeds to interpret not only Margaret's ecstasies but the whole problem of the soul's relations with its Maker, the attributes of

a worthwhile Christian, and the needs of the world today. And one has the feeling that Mauriac believes his to be the definitive statement. Although one does not doubt the author's sincerity, his wisdom is highly questionable. It is a book that must be read with great discretion. (LORRAINE JUNG)

MCGURRIN, JAMES. *Bourke Cockran: A Free Lance in American Politics*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xv, 361. \$3.50.)

Bourke Cockran was a man with a magical name, a silver tongue, and a golden heart. He was born in County Sligo, Ireland, on February 28, 1854, the son of a convert heiress and a father who was a darling to hounds. His formal education was received in the Catholic schools of France and Ireland. In preference to choosing one of the old family careers, he sailed for New York at the age of seventeen. At the insistence of Abraham B. Tappan he took up the study of law. His first foray into politics was as an Irving Hall Democrat. Later John Kelly invited him into Tammany. Yet he was never, in the full sense of the term, the politician of Tammany. Twice he broke with Tammany and was Richard Croker's most powerful antagonist. He had a strong aversion to machine politics, and he never would submit to bossism in his political views. He hung tenaciously to his basic principles as a sound money, free trading, anti-imperialist, anti-machine Democrat. As a Democrat he opposed the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the presidency; as a Democrat he supported the Republican McKinley; and in a third campaign he supported Teddy Roosevelt against both Republican and Democrat. Bourke Cockran was not only a prominent American politician; he was likewise a forward American Catholic layman. His great faith is revealed in the fact that he was one of the founders of the Society of the Perpetual Adoration in New York City. His crusades for the Church stretched throughout the United States.

In portraying the life of Cockran Mr. McGurkin has put too much emphasis on the oratorical. As the book proceeds, it gets farther away from its intended goal of biography, and develops more into an exposition of Cockran's political ideas. The author seems to take for granted that the reader will be familiar with the life and activities of his subject. Thus he devotes a great deal of space to Cockran's speeches and the newspaper comment on them. Much of the background is left vague. The super-adulation of Cockran as an orator grows wearisome. With the exception of his speech in Montgomery, Alabama, advocating the repeal of the fifteenth amendment, one would be led to believe that none of Bourke Cockran's speeches ever received adverse criticism. However, despite this fault, the book is of value in view of the fact that it brings before the mind of the generation that has grown up since Cockran's death one of the truly colorful figures of American political history. (JOHN J. CORCORAN)

PELZER, AUGUSTUS. *Addenda et emendanda ad Francisci Ehrle Historiae Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis tomum I*. (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana. 1947. Pp. vii, 184.)

There were four great papal libraries in history: the Bibliotheca Antiqua, the Bonifatiana, the Avenionensis, and the modern Vaticana. In the present volume

Monsignor Pelzer publishes 100 pages of additions and corrections to Cardinal Ehrle's history of the library of Boniface VIII and that of Avignon. Pelzer also re-edits and annotates three catalogues of Boniface VIII's library of 1295, 1327, and 1339. Ehrle had edited these in the *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, but he had not incorporated them into his *Historia*. The fruit of long years of scholarly research on the part of a veteran scholar of the Vatican Library, this work will render precious service for all time to those interested in manuscript lore and in the history of libraries. The volume takes a deserved place on the shelf beside the monumental catalogues that have been emanating from the Vatican Library. (ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER)

ROBINSON, HOWARD. *The British Post Office: A History*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 467. \$7.50.)

This volume should have a more widely popular appeal than its title would indicate. The very great influence of postal service in extending and expanding communications and in furthering the cause of civilization is generally overlooked. The easy style of the author, the popular examples and situations, and the clear and direct explanations showing the role of the postal system in the development of British civilization will hold the reader's interest. The American reader will appreciate the book more when he realizes that the British postal system was that of the colonies before independence and that it has been greatly imitated in the United States since then. The stamp collector will have a professional liking for the work because of its historical treatment of the development of postal markings and stamps. The historian will appreciate the social aspects and the economic and political effects of a growing and improving communication system. The scholar will approve the documentation, the footnotes, and the fine bibliographical materials. The excellent illustrations and maps will be a delight to the reader, popular or otherwise.

The author introduces his volume with a chapter on "The Origins of the English Post" wherein he describes some difficulties of sending letters in the time of the Greeks and the Romans, but the range of the volume historically is from the time of Henry VIII, when a definite postal system was organized, to the outbreak of World War II. During this period of about 400 years, it is intriguing to learn that private mail was frowned on and sometimes suppressed as dangerous to the king. It is also astonishing to note the step by step advancement by reform and improvement to the highly efficient and modern postal system of the present time embracing an international exchange of mail through the regulations of the Postal Union. (FRANK P. WEBERG)

WALZ, ANGELUS, O.P. *Compendium historiae ordinis Praedicatorum* ed. altera recognita et aucta. (Roma: Pontificium Athenaeum "Angelicum." 1948. Pp. xxiv, 733.)

This is not a new work, but a new and revised edition of a study which first appeared in 1929. Fundamentally the work remains unchanged. In the first two parts, which cover the history of the order from its beginnings up to 1804,

certain transpositions have been made in the order of presenting the material, and a few minor additions appear where the results of recent studies have made this necessary. The largest single addition is to be found in the section on the mediaeval provinces of Greece and the Holy Land, and on the Society of the Wandering Brethren, where recent studies appearing in the *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* as well as the work of Father Loenertz have been used. The final part of the book, treating of the contemporary history of the order, has been augmented so as to bring it up to the year 1947. Most of these additions are, however, of a rather brief nature.

The bibliography has been brought up to date and will serve as a valuable tool for those who are interested in making a more profound study of the history of the Order of Preachers. The detailed references given throughout the work are now to be found conveniently placed at the bottom of each page instead of at the end of the volume, as was the case in the earlier edition. It must be remarked, however, that the reader who has only an average facility in Latin is apt to encounter some little difficulty in Father Walz's rather terse style.

(PAUL M. STARRS)

WEINBERGER, OTTO. *Die Wirtschaftsphilosophie des Alten Testaments*. (Wien: Springer-Verlag, 1948. Pp. xviii, 141. \$4.20.)

Dr. Weinberger, a Catholic professor at the University of Vienna, is well versed in modern and contemporary social philosophy, especially in Germany. This seems to be his proper field and as a matter of fact only about half of his book deals with the Old Testament. The author takes up the meaning and problems of economic philosophy in itself and justifies its application to the Old Testament. He explores the social concepts of the Israelites, such as work, capital, property, etc., and he answers objections voiced against Old Testament institutions from Nietzsche to Alfred Rosenberg.

But when Dr. Weinberger comes to the Old Testament proper, he lacks a sense of history and a complete knowledge of language and texts. Thus the Mosaic law is viewed as a rigid, stationary institution, ready-made and given by God. Actually the evidence points to a growth in the legal institutions of Israel, as many Catholic scholars hold today. Moreover, it seems more reasonable that much of the legislation was approved, not revealed by God. The author glosses over real difficulties in the philosophy he so extols, such as polygamy and the *herem*. Again, he praises certain institutions as though they were distinctively Jewish and given by God, apparently unaware of the social contacts now discovered between the peoples of the Fertile Crescent (pp. 112-113). It is irritating, too, to see the Mosaic code described as anti-capitalistic (p. 86); this transfers an ancient institution to a modern situation for which it was never meant. The author's note on the Catholic view of the Pentateuch (p. 60) is woefully incomplete, e.g., no mention is made of the work of J. Coppens—and his remarks about Norbert Peters are misleading. It is typical of the general handling of the biblical sections of this volume. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

### MISCELLANEOUS

- Notes on Method in the History of Ideas. Roy Harvey Pearce (*Jrn. of the Hist. of Ideas*, June).
- Metodi e risultati relativi alla storia della filosofia. Amedeo Rossi, C. M. (*Divus Thomas* [Piacenza], July, 1947).
- Religion in Toynbee's History. James H. Nichols (*Jrn. of Religion*, Apr.).
- Chance and the Fortuitous in a Philosophy of History. Leo A. Foley (*New Scholasticism*, July).
- Democracy Losing by Default. Nathaniel Peffer (*Political Science Quart.*, Sept.).
- Whence Comes Freedom? Thomas R. Ryan (*Catholic World*, Sept.).
- The Basis of the Suarezian Teaching on Human Freedom. Thomas U. Mullaney (*Thomist*, July).
- Articles on Francisco Suarez in commemoration of the fourth centenary of his birth (*Estudios eclesiásticos*, Apr. and Sept.).
- Christianity and Collectivistic Trends. R. E. Morris (*Thought*, Sept.).
- Ensayo sobre la morfología de la revolución en la historia moderna. Jaime Vicens Vives (*Universidad* [Zaragoza], Vol. XXIV, No. 4).
- La Doctrine de l'appropriation des biens chez quelques-uns des pères. Stanislas Giet (*Recherches de science religieuse*, Jan.).
- Tertullien (De Baptismo, V: Esietos). Prosper Schepens (*ibid.*).
- Le mystère de la société. Recherches sur le sens de l'histoire. Gaston Fessard (*ibid.*, Jan. and Apr.).
- Quatre mois de prédication de saint Augustin (Les *Enarrationes in Ps.* 119-133 et les *Tractatus I-XII in Ioannem*). Maurice de Landais (*ibid.*, Apr.).
- L'Exhomologèse dans l'Adversus haereses de saint Irénée. Henri Holstein (*ibid.*).
- Saint Cyprien. Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis pars in solidum tenetur (*De unitate ecclesiae*, V). Prosper Schepens (*ibid.*).
- L'authenticité des dix-sept opuscules contenus dans le ms. T. 523 sous le nom d'Eusèbe d'Emèse. E. M. Buytaert (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1-2).
- Le souvenir de Josèphe chez les pères. G. Bardy (*ibid.*).
- Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body. Henry Chadwick (*Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, Apr.).
- Luther's View of Man in His First Published Work. Heinz Bluhm (*ibid.*).
- The Consecration of Faustina the Elder and her Daughter. Harold Mattingly (*ibid.*).
- L'originalité du traité de saint Basile sur le Saint-Esprit. Benoît Pruche (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, July).
- Saint Augustin et le péché originel. J. Clémence (*Nouvelle revue théologique*, July).
- St. Jerome's Hebrew Manuscripts. E. F. Sutcliffe (*Biblica*, Vol. 29, Fasc. 3).
- The New Latin Psalter and its Translators. John M. T. Barton (*Clergy Rev.*, July).
- The Sixteenth Centenary of St. Pachomius. John Morson (*Pax*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 247).

- Patristique et moyen âge. H.-I. Marrou and F. Chatillon (*Revue du moyen âge latin*, Jan.).
- Smaragde et la grammaire chrétienne. J. Leclercq (*ibid.*).
- Le contenu, l'authenticité et la date du *Liber exceptionum* et des *Sermones centum* de Richard de Saint-Victor. J. Chatillon (*ibid.*).
- Fragments du *Phédon* dans un manuscrit de Clairvaux. A. Vernet (*ibid.*).
- "Cimiterium ad refugium tantum vivorum, non ad sepulturam mortuorum". L. Musset (*ibid.*).
- Encore les emplacements malsains. M.-A. Dimier et P. Dumontier (*ibid.*).
- Au dossier de la *caritas ordinata*. F. Chatillon (*ibid.*).
- Die altchristliche Bischofskirche Triers. IV. Die Grabungen im Trierer Dom 1945/46. Theod. Kempf (*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*, June, 1947).
- Zum 1200jährigen Jubiläum des fränkischen Generalkonzils vom Jahre 747. Matthias Schuler (*ibid.*, Nov., 1947).
- La clause ardennaise du traité de Meersen. Jean Hoyoux (*Moyen âge*, Nos. 1-2, 1947).
- Recherches sur l'évolution des institutions judiciaires pendant le X<sup>e</sup> et le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le sud de la Bourgogne. Georges Duby (*ibid.*).
- Le premier siècle de la "curia" de Hainaut (1060 env.-1195). Léopold Gênicot (*ibid.*).
- La date des "Etablissements de Bordeaux". Y. Renouard (*ibid.*).
- Nicole Oresme et le "Songe du Verger". Robert Bossuat (*ibid.*).
- L'histoire médiévale aux Pays-Bas de 1940 à 1946. J.-F. Niermeyer (*ibid.*).
- Un grand auteur spirituel retrouvé: Jean d'Apamée. I. Hausherr (*Orientalia christiana periodica*, Vol. XIV, No. I-II).
- The Sources of the 'Acta' of the Council of Florence. J. Gill (*ibid.*).
- Ivo von Chartres über Photios. G. Hofmann (*ibid.*).
- Le sceau d'Anne Comnène et deux corrections. F. Tailliez (*ibid.*).
- Der Kreuzzug Birger Jarls (1250) und die Schlacht an der Nawa (1240). A. M. Ammann (*ibid.*).
- Lo stato presente della questione circa la riconciliazione di Fozio con la chiesa romana (1). G. Hofmann (*La civiltà cattolica*, July 3).
- Antichità cristiane. Aquileia e Grado. A. Ferrua (*ibid.*, July 17).
- Intorno all'interpretazione di simboli nell'arte paleocristiana. L. Hertling (*ibid.*, Aug. 7).
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